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THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

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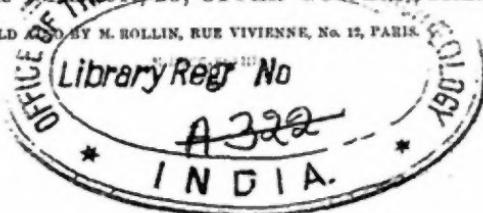
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COINS OF MESSENIA, SELINUS, & CAULONIA.

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

ON THE TYPES OF THE COINS OF CAULONIA.

THE Archaic incuse tetradrachms of the Achaian colony of Caulonia, present, on the obverse, a male figure in the attitude of walking, naked, beardless, with long hair bound by a fillet, and falling in regular curls over the neck ; the elevated right hand holds a bush or branch, as if in the act to strike ; a small figure is running along his left outstretched arm and hand, with face usually turned towards him, and also holding, sometimes a branch, and sometimes a more indistinct object resembling a crown.¹ Below the extended arm is usually a deer. Other specimens exhibit a suspended fillet, and on the reverse, which generally has a similar design, but sometimes without the smaller figure, a basin or *λουτηρ*, with a swan. Sometimes the swan is introduced in the area beneath the extended arm of the chief figure, and also to the right a *bucranion* ornamented with fillets hanging above a bearded ithyphallic Hermes, while to the left, water flows into a basin, from a lion-head spout.

¹ Archäologische Zeitung, x. 2. Panofka. S. Birch, Numismatic Chronicle, XXX.

The agreement of these symbols leaves little doubt, that the gesture of the larger figure is correctly interpreted as the act of lustration or purification; and the act, the character of the figure, and the deer, all favour the title of Apollo, assigned to it by Müller, and confirmed by a silver coin of the same city, bearing the head of the God crowned with laurel, and a standing deer on the reverse. The arm of the god certainly seems raised, rather for the act of striking than of sprinkling, but it may be observed, that the act of striking is mentioned in some forms of lustration, (Tzetzes Chiliad. v. 23), and is associated with the influence of Apollo, as sun-god, on the health, whether for good or ill.¹

¹ Macrob. Satt. I. xvii. Eadem opinio sospitalis et medici dei in nostris quoque sacris fovetur: namque virgines Vestales ita indigitant: *Apollo. Medice. Apollo. Paian.* cum ergo sunt hujussee sideris, id est, solis duo maximi effectus; alter quo calore temperato juvat mortalium vitam, alter quo jactu radiorum nonnumquam pestiferum vius immittit: duo eademque cognomina circa singulos affectus propriis enuntiationibus signant, appellantes deum ιησον atque παιανα, quaes cognomina utriusque effectui apti sunt; ut sit ιησος απο τουιασθαι a sanando et παιαν, απο του παιειν τας αιτιας: et rursus ιησος απο τουιειν ab immittendo, βελος εχεπευκες εφιεις, et παιαν απο του παιειν, a feriendo. In this explanation—as in the preceding of *απολλωνοβληγον* = *inustos morbo*, the act of striking appears as the cause, not the cure of disease, as conjectured on the coin; curative influence, however, appears assigned to it, as directed towards the personified causes of disease; thus, *ibid* :—βαλλε παιαν, id est, *immitte feriendo*; qua voce ferunt Latonam usam cum Apollinem hortaretur impetum Pythonis incessere sagittis. Apollo Paidon is associated with a group of powers of health. Pausan. I. 34, 2.

Cf. Lobeck Aglaoph, p. 89.—*Εγ ειδοις Μαρτιαις πομπης γινομενης ηγετο και ανθρωπος περιβεβλημενος δοραις και τοντον επαιογ ραβδοις λεπταις.* Lydus de Mens. p. 38.

Apud Delphos novo quoque anno Charilaus cuiusdam ειδωλον παιδικον producebatur ritèque a rege verberatum intra rupes abdebat; (Plut. Quæst. Gr. Suidas v. ειδωλον,) quibus omnibus *sacra piacularia* significari videntur.

Ad eam rem Judæi veteres hircum emissarium adhibebant:

The great difficulty, however, that has so long exercised the learning and sagacity of archæologists, is to assign a title and character to the smaller running figure. Panoska, at the close of his ingenious essay,² anticipates that his own attempt is not likely to conclude the debate, and it has accordingly been recently re-opened by Mr. Birch, in a paper in the Numismatic Chronicle.³ It appears, however, from a report in the Archäologische Zeitung, No. xlivi. that Dr. Panoska disallows the new explanation propounded in that paper, and considers his own rather confirmed and illustrated by the point of detail on which Mr. Birch relies. The present remarks have no farther pretension, than to develop the significance of some ideas that are already current in the discussion, but have scarcely, it appears to the writer, been subjected to a sufficiently searching analysis.

The most obvious analogical instance to the figure as regards its position, is furnished by the statue of Apollo at Delos, which bore on its hand the Charites. On that of the Hèrè of Coronea, were three Sirens. The Olympian Zeus, and the Athènè of the Parthenon, each held a Nikè or Victory.

In the latter instances, the divinities appear to have been represented as the givers and disposers of the event

Bæoti in βουλιμου εξελασει servum quem probe percussum foras ejicerent.

The Arcadian custom of beating the image of Pan was, I suspect, properly *a rite*. It was in Arcadia that Pausanias professes to have first recognised the significance of traditions, that in other parts of Greece had appeared to him mere absurdities. The stripes of the Lupercalia — a proper καθαρμος — will be noticed lower down. The German custom cited by Lobeck, may be paralleled by that of “beating the bounds,” in England.

² Archäologische Zeitung, No. x. 1843.

³ No. XXX.

personified in the winged figure,—as the powers in whose hands were triumph and success. Without turning aside now to analyse the relation of the Sirens to Coronean Hèrè, as a nature goddess, we may remark, with respect to the Charites, that they are the types of health, beauty, and all the cheerful things of which Apollo himself was so distinguished an impersonation, and thus are appropriately represented as his possession and gift.⁴ As goddesses of health, they are associated with Hygiea, by Ariphon,⁵ and with Æsculapius on the well-known bas relief.⁶ Again, as placed on the head of the Dionysian bull,⁷ the symbol of the year, they appear to have reference to the triple seasons, and the course of the sun-god.

In these analogies, we seem to recover the same allusion to health and purity, represented in the gesture of Apollo, as *καθαρτῆς*; while the running attitude of the small figure brings it within that class, which by formal disposition, and a certain wheel-like arrangement of limbs, appear to be identifiable, as zoomorphised symbols (so to speak), in some cases, of a cycle, or revolution, and at any rate of a course.

The coins of Messenia bear Zeus Ithomatas precisely in the attitude and action of the Caulonian Apollo, but darting his bolt, instead of grasping the lustrative *θαλλος*:⁸ on his left extended fore-arm, is the eagle with outspread wings and looking towards him. The close association of the eagle

⁴ Macrob. Satt. 1. xvii.

⁵ Μετασειο, μακαρ' Ὑγεια, τεθῆλε παντα, και λαμπει Χαριτωνειρ.

⁶ Mus. Pio-Clem. iv. 13. ⁷ Denk. der Alt. Kt. ii. 383.

⁸ Ithomè as originally Thdmè (Strabo), suggests a derivation from the root of *θωμίζω*=*μαστίζω*: compare the Διος *μαστίξ* of the Iliad (xii. 37). Poseidon, again, who on Bruttian coins wields his trident in the same attitude, is not only a smiter of the quaking earth, but in the Iliad (xiii. 59), infuses alacrity and vigour into the exhausted Ajaces by a blow of his sceptre.

of Jove with his thunder is well known, from the celebrated passage of Pindar's first Pythian; and it is not to be doubted, that the connection is as intimate between the hastening mannikin of Caulonia and the action of the god, although the blow is probably no more to be considered as menacing him, than the bolt of Messenian Zeus threatens his eagle. He would appear, from this analogy, less as the object, than as the type,—the means and messenger—of the influence of the god, a personage thus in much the same relation to Apollo, as the tiny Telesphorus to Asclepius; and this agrees with the crown, *insula* or *θαλλος*, borne by him on various specimens.

To assist us in our search for a special and, if possible, local significance in the present case, we have the winged sandals observed by Mincrvini on the feet of the small figure in a collection at Naples, and since by Mr. Birch, on two specimens in the British Museum.⁹ Winged sandals are appropriated to Hermes, to Perseus, and to wind-gods, as for instance, Boreas.¹⁰ We may examine the claims of each in succession.

1. Hermes appears in this running attitude on an Etruscan speculum, and with lyre and flower in his hands, which might in few words be made to harmonise with the annual significance intimated. Mr. Birch interprets the type of the coin as a representation of the anecdote in the Homeric hymn, of Apollo taking up Hermes in his hands. Were there any connection here, I should be inclined to believe, that the coin preserved an archaic type of a *iepos λογος*, of which the poet of the hymn availed himself for sportive burlesque. But the figure on the coin is not

⁹ One coin in particularly fine preservation exhibits the wings so distinctly as to leave no room for question.

¹⁰ A vase at Munich represents Apollo himself equipped with them. (Thiersch, über die hellen. bemalten Vasen. pl. v.)

an infant, and if not, wherefore, as Hermes, is it on a scale so inferior to the Apollo? And the anecdote of the hymn does not include the indispensable idea of purification, unless, indeed, we handle its details with a freedom they scarcely invite. Still it would be with great hesitation and regret, that I should give up the applicability of the passage as illustrative of the type, and as an example of that irony that ever becomes more discernible in the Homeric poetry, as the analysis proceeds of the common symbolism of Greek poetry and religion. We may find the progress of our enquiry lead us back again to the instance, before the essay concludes.

2. Perseus, another claimant to the winged sandals, occurs like Hermes on vases (British Museum), in this attitude of haste or rapid movement: and the astronomical relations of his mythical character would render his association with Apollo consistent;¹¹ I am not, however, aware of any instance or legend of their fellowship, that throws light on the combination on the coin. The more recondite symbolism of the idea of Perseus, is rather rivalling than complementary to that of Apollo.

3. The wind-gods remain. Boreas, on a Hamilton vase (Gal. Myth. lxxx.), has the fledged heels of Hermes or Perseus, which thus are appropriate to powers of the winds. Boreas himself is a wild power: the *spanking* stride usually assigned to him corresponds with the action of our figure, and he is thus not an unfit subject for control, or purification.¹²

If, then, with Panofka, we regard this small figure as a wind-god, a prince of the powers of air, the analogy of the

¹¹ Cf. John. Lyd. de Menss. iv. 17, as they appear to have formed the motive of his representation on the throne of the health-power Asclepius, son of Apollo, at Epidaurus. Paus. ii. 27.

¹² Hesychius in v. *Βορεασποι*.

type becomes at once obvious to that of the Sicilian coin (Denk. Alt. Kt. i. 194),¹³ bearing a representation of the purification of the air from pestilence, by the arrows of the bowyer-god;¹⁴ and on the reverse, a figure holding, in the left hand, the branch of lustration, similar to that on the Caulonian coin, and with his right, making a libation at an altar. By the altar is a cock, a type either of solar influence or an emblem of the health-god. The connection of the rite of lustration is not more intimate with the removal of moral defilement, than with the restoration of healthy purity to the human body,¹⁵ and of local circumstance as affecting it.

The proofs are abundant of the reference by the Greeks, of the origin of disease to disorders of the air.¹⁶ Hence, the celebrated *Pœan*, written by Sophocles for the service of the Athenian Asclepieion,¹⁷ was said to have the effect of charming the winds when blowing unseasonably; the Attic worship of Boreas was directed to the propitiation of healthful breezes,¹⁸ and it may be observed, that it is as a health-god and curer that Æschylus refers to Apollo as controlling the contrary winds, that detained the fleet of Agamemnon.¹⁹

Pausanias (iii. 16) regarded the flagellations which

¹³ Cf. Müller, *ibid.* and Diog. Laert. viii. 2, 11.

¹⁴ Sophoc. *Oedip. Tyran.* 203.

¹⁵ Πρωτού μεν γαρ η καθαρίς και οι καθαρμοι και κατα την ιατρικην και κατα την μαντικην και αι τοις ιατρικοις φαρμακοις και αι τοις μαντικοις περιθειωσεις τε και τα λοντρα τα εν τοις τοιουτοις και αι περιφραγσεις, παντα εν τι ταυτα δυνατ' αν, καθαροι παρεχειν τον αιθρωπον και κατα το σωμα και κατα την ψυχην. Plato. Cratyl. p. 405 A. ¹⁶ Herod. ii. 77. Cf. Hippocrat. Apotheg.

¹⁷ Philost. vit. Apoll. viii. 7, 8. ¹⁸ Hesych. in v. βορεαστοι.

¹⁹ Ιηγού δε καλεω Παιανα

μη τινας αυτεπνοονς

Δαραοις χρονιας εχενηδας

απλοιας τενεη

σπενδομενα θυσιαν... Æschy. Agam. 149.

Aulis, a title of Apollo. Hesych. in v.

stained the altar of Artemis Orthia with blood, as leniently substituted for the human sacrifices offered in olden time to the goddess, and of which that of Iphigeneia to propitiate the winds, was the mythical type. The Lupercalia, in which Roman ladies "who loved their lords" willingly exposed themselves to the stripes dealt by the youths who ran the course, were properly a form of *καθαρμός*: they took place in the month of lustration (February), at a time when, it is noticed (Ovidii Fasti, ii.), the winds were unusually violent, or variable. We shall have occasion presently, to notice the relation between appeased or propitiated winds, and prolific love. Juno, with whose worship the rites appear intimately connected, was regarded in this association as the goddess of the purified and purifying air (John Lydus de Mens. Cf. Lobeck i. 89; Plut. Numa xix.; Dionys. Halic.).

Having arrived at this point, we may look more closely into the history and origin of Caulonia, for traces of relation to the mythology of Apollo and the winds.

Caulonia, according to Pausanias, was founded by Achaians (vi. 3, 5), under Tūphōn of Aigai. The name of the *κτιστης*, Tūphōn, at once gives us a reference to stormy and unhealthy winds, and we may either consider him as a mythical personage; in which case he may be identified on the coin at once; or else, admitting his historical character, his name by the prevalent law must, as so distinctly significant, be held to indicate the character of the worship or the particular divinity to which he and his followers were attached; his followers, also, for in these early colonies, claim to leadership is ever traceable to pretensions to special religious function and mythic dignity. Now Typhonian mythology is in most intimate connection with the legend of Apollo as sun-god, and as purifier of

the air; Typhaon, offspring of unassisted Hèrè, having been committed by his mother to the care of the serpent Python (Hom. hymn. in Apoll.). Hesiod (Theog. v. 869) makes Typhon father of all destructive and detrimental winds; and thus he may be regarded with probability as originating them, and, as an object of worship, the power who when propitiated or incensed could direct or restrain them.²⁰

Tuphòn was of Aigai; and in this name, as in that of the city Aigira, into which it ultimately merged, relation may be detected to the root *aτσαω*, which, as having reference to winds, storms, or impetuous course, is now generally recognised in *αγισ*.²¹ Compare the name of the town Donousa, or Donoessa (*δονεω*, *δονακες*), in the neighbourhood of Aigai. In the latter town, are found temples of Apollo and Asclepius. It is at another Achaian town of cognate name, Aigion, that Pausanias records a conversation he had with a Phœnician, in the temple of Asclepius,²² that, vague as it is, has great interest. According to the Phœnician system, as expounded by the Sidonian, Asclepius was the air, serviceable to man and all animals for salubrity; and Apollo was the sun, appropriately styled his father by no mortal mother, as it was the sun that, by performance of his course in conformity with the seasons,

²⁰ In the field of the coin, in one specimen, are a pair of dolphins (British Museum), which may refer to the Delphian god; (Hom. hymn. in Apoll.) to the safe navigation of tranquil seas (the winds being propitiated or appeased); or else it may be, also, to the celestial sign connected by Ovid with the mythology of Typhon. (Fasti ii.)

²¹ τοὺς δὲ καταγιεῖσις αρεμόνες τυφώ καλούσι.

Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 872.

κ' αρεμοειτωρ αιγιδωρ. Aeschyl. Choeph. 590.

²² Paus. vii. 23, 6.

conferred salubrity on the air. Pausanias admitted the correctness of the view, but argued that it was quite as much the Greek as Phœnician.²³ The diadem or rays round the head of the god, on many specimens of the Caulonian coin, mark him as a sun-god.

By a *κτιστης* from Achaian Aigai was founded another Italian city, Crotona. The leader of the colony in this instance, was Muskelos, or Muskellos, who, according to Eustathius (ad. Dionys.), before founding the city, consulted Delphi; and in answer to the god, chose health as preferable to wealth for his future town. Muskellos, and hence Crotona, thus appear in close relation to Apollo. The Apollo of Crotona, is consequently a health-god; the city was famed for its healthiness, a gift of the god, and renowned moreover for its school of medicine (Strabo), sure indication of a seat of Ascleopian worship. Now to Crotona, according to Scymnus (318), and Stephanus Byzant. (as according to other authorities to Aigai), was ascribed the founding of Caulonia, or, as it was originally called, Aulonia (Strabo). The two Italian cities, in fact, sprung from the same metropolis; and Crotona, the elder sister, in accordance with the sympathy of common race so strong in the history of Greek colonisation, assisted or took part in the promotion of the later enterprise. Hence, I suspect, the conspicuousness of the health-god of Crotona on Caulonian coins. The Aisarus that flowed by Crotona, was said to be named from a hunter, probably Apollo himself, who followed a stag there (the stag of the coin). It is noticed, that the port of Crotona furnished no protection against the winds in winter (Polyb. x. 1, Plin. iii. 2, 15), and it is probable enough that this circumstance was reflected in the local mythology.

²³ And Aristotle supports him: de Gen. Anim. lib. iv. s. fin.

But we have yet another founder of Caulonia to consider; Aulon, from whom the city was first called Aulonia²⁴ (Servius ad *AEn.* iii. 552—3, Strab. 261, Steph. Byz. v. *Αὐλῶν*). This name, as observed by Panoska (Archäol. Zeit. No. xliii. p. 312), has relation to *avω*; and it thus is in harmony with the derivations of *Aryai* and Donoessa, and parallelises remarkably with the name of the fellow-colonist Typhòn, as a gusty personage.

The most obvious explanation of the name, is certainly by reference to local appropriateness; *avλων* signifying a long valley, defile, hollow way, canal, channel, or straits of the sea. Such geographical peculiarities are found connected with it in abundant instances: at the N.W. of the Strymonian gulf, the plain of Jordan, the straits between Cyprus and Cilicia, at Messene, and at Aulis, on the Eubœan strait, etc. etc. Strabo expressly states, that the Aulonia of Italy received its name from its situation.²⁵

Nevertheless, though the name, in many cases, were originally simply descriptive, it may easily have been afterwards seized upon by legend, personified in a hero, and to the hero adventures and qualities assigned appropriate to the race and its circumstances; but quite absolved from the original descriptive propriety. This vagary of legend is familiarly illustrated in the fanciful interpretation of names, and plays on derivations, in the Homeric poems. (Odysseus, Peleus, and Pelion, the horn and ivory gates of dreams, Delphi in Hymn. ad. Apoll. etc.)

²⁴ What was the principle on which the change of name took place? I am indebted to Mr. Newton for the observation which seems to point to the solution, that *καυλός* and *αὐλός* appear as correlative terms; the first is the ferule of the spear-head, that receives the second, the stem or shaft of the spear.

²⁵ Cf. Etmol. Mag. in v. *Διολωνία*.

Thus, the name of Auloerènè is sufficiently explained by the valley and the lake, whence rose the rivers Marsyas and Mæander (Pliny, H. N. v. 29): but Strabo says, it had its name from the reeds that grew there, of particular excellence for pipes, and legend doubtless connected them with the piping Marsyas. There seems, therefore, some ground to suspect that the hero Aulòn is, in fact, a result of the personified city, clothed with mythic attributes suggested by his fellow-colonist Typhon, and by prevalent local legends as to the purifying influence of the health-god, Apollo of Crotona, on the air and breezes: and on the other hand, as we shall see, the occurrence of a hero, Aulòn, in other localities, opens the possibility that the local reference indicated by Strabo, may be a coincidence, or a mistake. The true root of the coincidence lies in the fact, that a strait or valley (*αὐλῶν*) is naturally windy (= *αὐλῶνας κελαδεῖνος*, Hom. Hymn. in Mer.), and thus invited and induced religious regard for wind-gods or heroes of their race. Diodorus enumerates, among the causes of absence of winds and of a calm atmosphere, *μῆτε συσκιούς αὐλῶνας παρακειούται πλησίου* (lib. ii. p. 129). The mythology of the story of Aulis is found at the metropolis of Aulonia, Achaian Aigira, where Pausanias notices a temple of Artemis, and statue of Iphigeneia; and hence it was, therefore, that Apollo as Paiòn, the eurer, and as the appeaser of the winds, associated in this character with Artemis at Aulis, by Æschylus, and in the painting of Pompeii, was originally derived by the Achaian colonists.

There seems to have been much in the position of these cities, to favour the development of any religious germs having relation to the winds. It would be favoured by natural circumstances, and antecedent legend. The navigation round the extreme promontories of the Italian penin-

sula, appears to have been very exposed, and rites and legends referring to the winds, are, as might be expected, traceable without difficulty.

The *cult* of the winds, that is so widely diffused among the older cities,—at Athens,²⁶ Corinth, Trœzene, Sicyon,²⁷ Messenia, etc., dates, no doubt, at least as early as the days of Achaian predominance, and does not seem to have been forgotten by the bold mariners who settled in the West. It was less likely to be neglected at Caulonia, from the great importance attached to it at the chief seat of the Delphic god; long before the expedition of Xerxes, which gave occasion for its revival (Herod. vii. 178). The Thurians, for services rendered, presented Boreas with the freedom of their city, and an estate.²⁸ At Tarentum, we find notice of sacrifices to the winds:²⁹ it is especially noticed, that the port of Crotona was exposed to their fury in winter, and proceeding but a short distance farther, we arrive at the promontory Zephyrium (the name of which, betrays a local wind mythus), and the supposed Æolian isles. That the promontory Zephyriūn was a seat of legends, if not the worship, of the winds,³⁰ appears probable,

²⁶ The βορεισμοὶ of the Athenians, ἡνα αὐτοῖς πνεωσιν (Hesych. in v. Cf. Lobeck. Aglae. p. 760).

²⁷ Paus. ii. 12, 1; Βωμὸς of winds and rites to appease τὸ πνευματῶν τὸ αὔριον. At Mothone, in Messenia, was a fane of Athēniè Anemotis, founded by Diomedes, in favour of whom the goddess put a stop to violent and unseasonable winds (Paus. iv. 35. Zeus Euaneinos at Sparta, id. iii. 13, 5).

²⁸ Elian. V. H. xii. 62.

²⁹ Hesych. in v. αφεκτος. Compare Zeus Ourios at Syracuse, etc.

³⁰ Hence the suggestion of the introduction of Pindar's ode for an Epizephyrian Locrian—

Ἐστιν αὐθρωποίς ανεμῶν οτε πλειστα
χρησίς· εστιν δὲ ουρανιῶν ὑδατῶν
ομήριων, παιδῶν Νεφελᾶς. Olymp. x. 1.

Stephanus Byz. speaks of a Locrian Caulonia, and cf. Servius ad Aen. iii. v. 553.

not only on other grounds, but from the occurrence of another Zephyrium eastward, on the borders of Cilicia,³¹ in close connection with a locality named Anemurium. So in the Iliad, Zephyrus appears as the host of all the winds; and in this character, seems to occupy the place of the wind controller Æolus of the Odyssey, who feasts his family in his windy halls with the spirit of a "fine old English gentleman, one of the olden time." Literature is not silent on the loves of Zephyrus; Iris bore him Eros, as Alceæus sings (Plut. Amator. 20), and Ovid (Fasti, v. 197) recounts his adventure with Flora. The vases of Italy present him in groups parallel to those of Boreas and Oreithyia, as eager, but a more comely lover (Arch. Zeit. 31. Tischb. iii. 28). The situation corresponds with the fertilising and vivifying influence assigned to the winds in Greek religion, and follows the type that was in the possession of Homer, and is indicated in his picture of the somewhat embarrassing gallantry of the carousing powers of the breezes to the summoning Iris.³²

Two lines may be noticed in Homer's account of Æolus, as illustrative of our points: *κνισσην δε τε δωμα περιστεναχιζεται αυλη*,—where *αυλη* (= *Αυλωνια*) may be interpreted, at least as regards allusion, by Etymol. Mag. in v. *Αυλη*. *ο περιτειχισμος* (= the brass-walled island of Æolus)

³¹ Strabo xiv. 670. Ptolemy v. 8. Eustath. ad Dionys. 855. Cilicia, it must be observed in this connection, is a chief seat of Typhonian legend. So again, legend connected Typhon with Mt. Haemus, in the neighbourhood of the Strymonian gulf, where the worship of the winds was particularly rife, and where we have already noticed an Aulis. The wind-worship of Thrace, is a parallelism that may be added to others of Magian or Persian character, adverted to in "The Nereid Monument." Boreas and Zephyrus return home from the pyre of Patroclus, *Ορηκιον καταποντον*, Iliad xxiii. 230.

³² Iliad xxiii. 203.

παρα το αω, το πνεω. και αυλη ο περιπνεομενος τοπος.
 The name of Æolus seems to have suffered the fate I have suggested, as possibly that of Aulonia; as although probably in origin a mere personification of Æolian race, in mythus an intention is not undiscoverable to rely on its suggestion of *αελλω*. Again, the expression *βυκταων ανεμων κελευθα*, said to be enclosed in the bag, suggests to me the idea of *a course*, as symbolised in the running mannikin of the coin.

Pausanias (iii. 12, 7) mentions the tomb of an Aulòn, at Sparta, which is the more note-worthy, as, according to the same authority,³³ the Spartans sent a colony to Crotona. The *herōon* was associated with another of Hippolytus; and Panofka has already remarked the parallel relation to the mythology of Asclepius, of Hippolytus recalled by him to life, and of Aulòn as associated with a health-god on the coin under consideration; of Hippolytus, whose statue is found in fanes of Asclepius, and of Aulònios,³⁴ whose statuc is noticed by Pausanias, in a temple of the god at Aulon, near Pylos, in Messenia.

The same sagacious archæologist has observed, that the parallel holds in the case of yet another founder of the city, Caulos, like Hippolytus, son of an Amazon.³⁵

³³ Paus. iii. 3, 1. On a Laconian town Aulòn, cf. Steph. Byz. in v. (who mentions others in Arcadia and Crete), and Plin. H.N. iv. 5.

³⁴ Sophocles, the charmer of irregular winds, held the hereditary *ἱερωσύνη* of Alòn, a hero, who was a medical student with Asclepius under Cheiròn. (Qy. Alòn=Aulòn.) Vit. Soph.

³⁵ Kleitè, * the Amazon mother of Caulos, is called foundress and queen of a city of the same name, said to have been destroyed

* Serv. ad Æn. iii. 552—3. Etymol. Mag. in v. Αυλωνία. Lycophron v. 1002.

The small figure, in some instances, holds a branch or bush, like that in the hand of the Apollo, though not held in the same active manner; the duplication of the emblem, is argument for its special significance. It must be observed, that in the rite of lustration, it was by no means indifferent what particular plant supplied the branch; it differed in various localities, and probably some particular plant was renowned at Caulonia as locally efficacious. Panofka suggests an intimation, by the type of a bush or *καυλός*, of the name of Caulonia, which is quite within the probabilities of numismatic typology. I cannot, however, consent to accept the bush as a modification of the uprooted trees borne over rocks and precipices by the priests of Apollo Hylates, among the Magnesians. In this practice (traceable, apparently, to stimulating vapours of the sacred cave) I can neither recognise a ceremony, with Panofka, nor a form of lustration, with Mr. Birch; Pausanias³⁶ having no allusion to lustration by olive branches. Nor am I aware of any relation between Magnesia and Caulonia, that justifies so bold a comparison of their special mythologies. Such a relation exists

by the Crotonians, who thus appear in a hostile relation to the mother of the hero, who is called the founder of Caulonia, the city in which they themselves had considerable interest. The complication suggests the probability, that the complete legend would furnish Kleitè with a Crotonian husband, and thus complete the parallel to Theseus and Hippolyta ("the bouncing Amazon, his buskined love"), and their son Hippolytus. The tombs of Hippolytus and Aulōn at Sparta appear to be connected with the highly venerated fane of the mighty mother, or great mother; in an obscure matter, perhaps the conjecture may be worth setting down, that the great mother here may have been the nature goddess associated with Amazonian legend, the Ephesian Artemis in Asia—in Italy, it may be, the Amazon Kleitè—at Athens, the Amazon Hippolyta.

³⁶ Paus. x. 32, 4.

between the Magnetes of Europe and those of Asia ; on whose coins, accordingly, the type of Apollo Hylates is recognised.

My conclusion, then, from the foregoing analysis amounts to this—that the larger figure of the Caulonian coins represents Apollo as sun-god, and god of health and purification, exercising his influence particularly by regulation of the air, by controlling and checking winds, violent or unseasonable, and promoting the periodical return of healthful and seasonable breezes; the smaller figure being a type or emblem of this special influence, as a personified power of the air, or *δαιμων*, intimately connected with a local and national *cult* of the winds, as traceable in the history and mythology of the Achaians, their expeditions, colonies, and heroes.

The Duc de Luynes proposed as the subject of the coin, Apollo and Aristaeus,³⁷ particularly worshipped at Metapontum as *καθαρτης* or *καθαρσιος*. This is, at least, another example of the combination in the Achaian cities of Italy, of ideas of purification or lustration, and the *cult* of the winds. Aristaeus appears in Apollonius Rhodius, as propitiator of the Etesian winds, the alleviator of the heats of Sirius. Nonnus calls the Etesians *κυρικες Αρισταιοι*.³⁸

³⁷ Cf. Herod. iv. 15.

³⁸ Aristaeus is, perhaps, the most eligible name on many accounts, for the figure with dog and staff, Ascleopian attributes, on the eastern front of the Harpy tomb (Lycian Marbles), and an appropriate antitype to the Harpies, as emblems of stormy winds. In an essay on the monument, printed in 1845, I noticed the dependence of its symbolism on the aspect of its fronts, and that the Harpies were properly wind-powers.* With the general

* A coin of Lycia, published in the recent work on that country, of Messrs. Spratt and Forbes, bears a Harpy on one side, and on the other, a running figure with winged sandals.

I have now but one more remark to make in conclusion — it is to the effect, that if the relations of the Hermes of Cyllene, of the Homeric hymn to the Typhonian power of Aigai and Caulonia be closely scrutinised, a task that for various reasons I decline, some mythic analogies may be recognised between them, some significant intimation of a Hermes-Tuphōn (Cf. Hom. Hymn v. 295 ff.) enough to indicate that the coincidence of the poetical and numismatic type is not an accident. On the coin of the British Museum, there is some appearance of the rim of the πιλος, and some very distinct of a *ραβδος* in the right hand of the figure. The bush with which he is provided on other specimens, reminds of the myrtle-gathering Herms of the Homeric hymn, and of Hermes indicator of the herb μωλυτο Odusseus in the Odyssey. The ithyphallic Hermes of some types refers to the same circle of mythology, while, on the other hand, the Homeric hymn furnishes a characteristic of the god, his return to his cavern-home in semblance of an autumnal air or mist of the morning,³⁹ which with his

analysis then given, I am still content; but it is susceptible of extension, by aid of a local tradition that I have since met with, but overlooked in later continental essays on this difficult subject, as well as in my own. The tradition in question, is that of the Triad of Lycian gods noticed by Eusebius, Hesychius, and numerous other authorities, and as Titans bearing remarkable analogy to the Titanic Triad of Athens, the Tritopatores, guards and janitors of the winds; and in this character, as rulers of the triform elements, and as presiders over fruitful marriage, appearing precisely in the character that by tentative analysis I was led to assign to them. The monument thus presents the same association of controlled and controlling powers of elemental nature, that there appears to me reason to recognise on the Caulonian coin.

³⁹ δοχμωθεις μεγαροι δια κληθρον εδυνεν
αυρη οπωρινη εναλιγσιος, ηντ ομιχλη....
ηκα ποσι προβιβων· ον γαρ επιπτεν, ωσπερ επ' ουδει. v. 146 ff.

relation to Apollo, would suffice to account for the interchange of his personality or attributes with the atmospheric or meteorological *δαιμῶν* of the mythology of Achaia.

The radiated head of Apollo on some specimens of our coins, declares the personified sun, which with the ancients was a planet; and the suggestion is obvious, that the smaller figure may likewise receive an astronomical interpretation, perhaps as the little planet nearest to the sun (hence the disproportion of the figures), by some assigned to Apollo himself, by others to Hermes.⁴⁰ From this constant proximity to the sun, the star is called his *comes* or *satelles*;⁴¹ and rising, in consequence of this position, sometimes just before the sun, and sometimes just after sunset;⁴² sometimes in direct motion, and sometimes retrograde, the bright, but tiny, luminary seems not ill typified in the precocious and aspiring brother of Apollo — model for all younger brothers to the end of time — and appropriately characterised in the terms of the hymn —

ληῖστηρ', ελατῆρα βοῶν, ἡγητὸν οὐειρων,
νυκτὸς οπωπηγηρα, πυληδοκον. v. 14.

The *αντρὸν παλισκιον* of his mother Maia (v. 5) on Mount Cithæron, is identical with that of Hèrè as Leto Muchia or Nuchia in the same place, of which Plutarch records an astronomical interpretation;⁴³ and more, I doubt not, would be found by such an analysis of the entire legend, as Müller furnished a model for, in his Essay on Orion.

These are but hints and suggestions; but even taken

⁴⁰ Pseud. Aristot. de Mundo, cap. 2.

⁴¹ Cicero, Som. Scip. ap. Macrob. 1. 17.

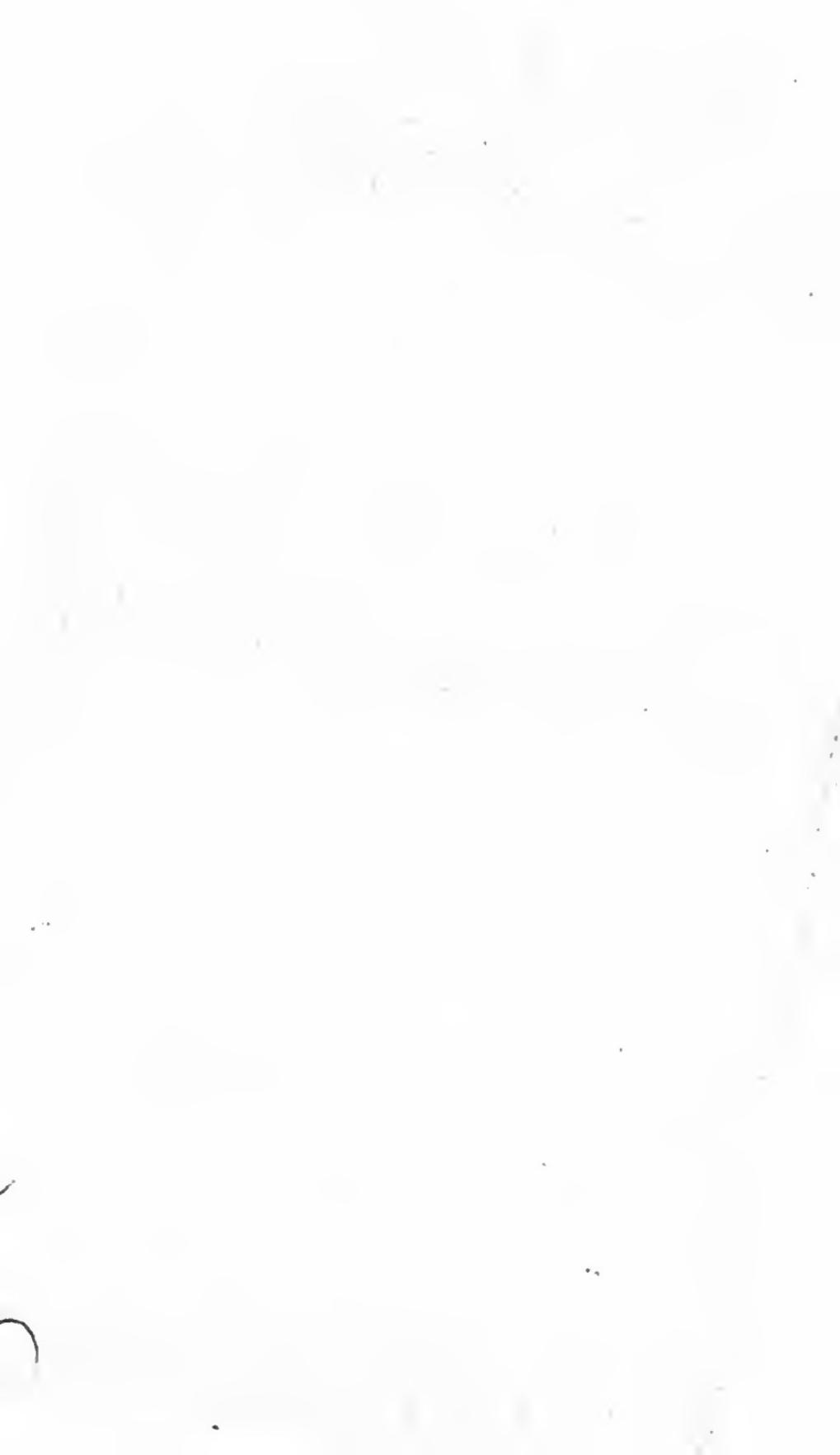
⁴² Plin. H. N. ii. 8. Hygin. Poet. Astron. xvi.

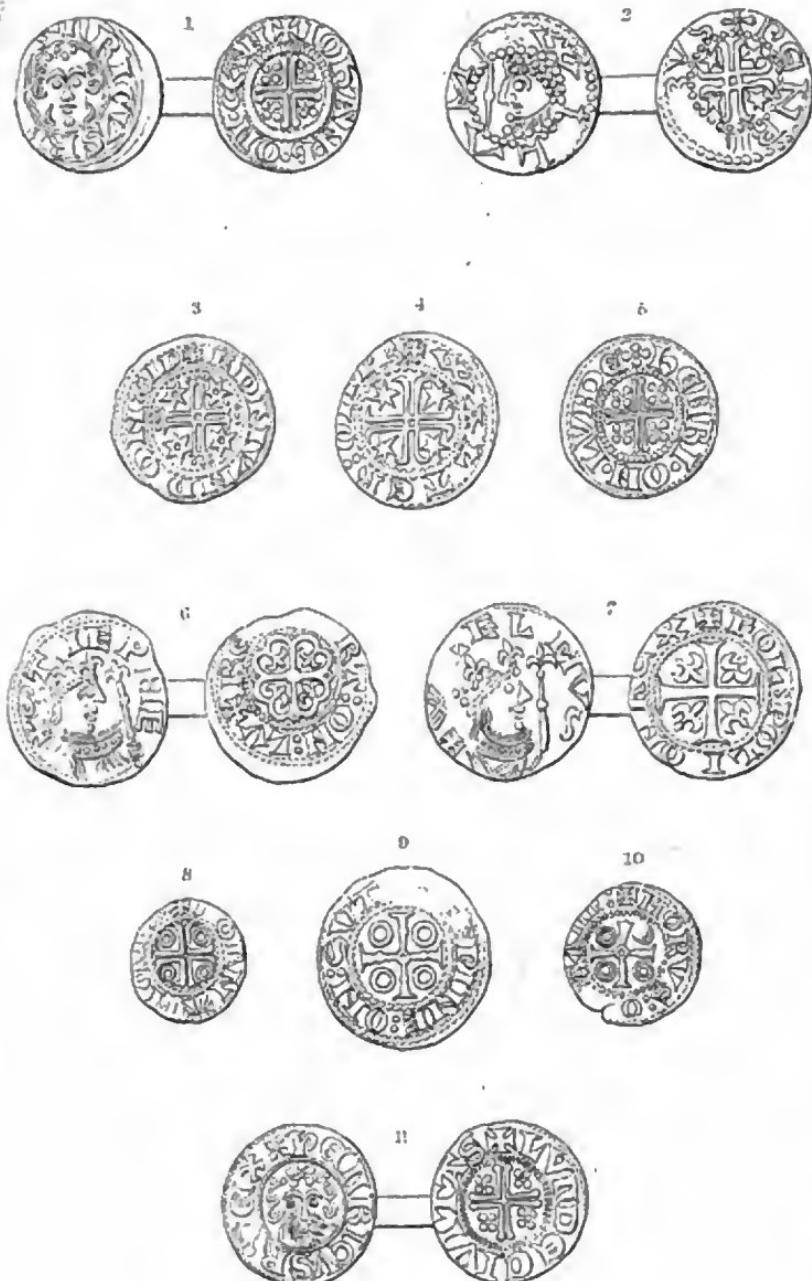
⁴³ Moral vi. p. 347. Tauch.

absolutely, must by no means be understood as prejudicing the foregone conclusion. The forces that moulded Greek legends into the form in which we receive them, were too diversified, mixed and alternating, to allow us to give a complete resolution of any monument by reference to a single influence. No exclusively Vulcanian or Neptunian theory will enable us to read aright the records of this creation. Athénè herself (to take the first example that presents itself), is, in various legends, the type of the land as opposed to the sea, the nymph of agriculture and increase, goddess of fire and of the arts it subserves, the moon, the rushing firmament, the sacred virgin, the mystic mother, the divine intelligence.

Among the generative ideas that have contributed to the formation of any type under consideration, that to which its origin is chiefly due, and that which determines the predominant character of the special instance, are the great objects to be sought for by analysis; but they will frequently be found at wide distances apart, and, like many others concerned in the result, may well, if scanned negligently, seem incompatible. It is, however, by the adjustment of such combinations, by harmonising these conflicting lights with reference to a single ruling effect, that Greek art, from the earliest forms of its development to the latest, achieves a significance and pregnancy that remain unrivalled.

WILLIAM WATKISS LLOYD.





ENGLISH, SCOTCH, AND IRISH PENNIES & HALF-PENNIES.

TO ILLUSTRATE THE SHORT AND LONG CROSS COINAGES OF HENRY III.

II.

ON THE PENNIES OF HENRY WITH THE SHORT
AND LONG CROSS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, November 26th, 1846.]

DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of sending you a few observations on the coinage of Henry II. and III., suggested by perusing a paper of Mr. Haigh's published at p. 124 of the "Olla Podrida," (a work obligingly presented to me by the author, Mr. Sainthill, of Cork), in which he considers that all the short cross coins belong to Henry III. Mr. Haigh observes, "Matthew Paris informs us this (1248) coinage differed from the old in *some important particulars.*" In the sole quotation he gives, however, Paris says, "The only difference is, that the double cross went beyond the circle of letters; but in the rest, as to weight, the impression of the head, with the lettered title, remains as before." Surely, Paris might also have noticed the three numerals after Henry, as also that he has a widely different crown on; but Hollingshed has pointed out so many inaccuracies of Matthew Paris, that his assertion, although a contemporary writer, is far from conclusive in my estimation.

The coins usually ascribed to Henry I., have the head both in front and in profile; and, from their scarcity, and the similarity of their types and legends to those of the Williams, are most likely properly appropriated. The new coinage in Henry II.'s reign (he having called in all the light and clipped money to be re-coined), and subsequently

his proclamation, that none but the new eoin should be current, are not only sufficient to account for their great rarity, but also go a great way in proving that they must have been coined by that prince. So much for the coins of Henry I.

Henry II. seenis to have been the first king after the conquest, who made any considerable regulations on money affairs. Stow says, "He suppressed the mints which every earl and baron had in Stephen's time, and *altered the coin* which was corrupted by the usurers, whom he grievously punished." In his third year, he coined new money, which only was eurrent in the realm, all other coins being forbidden.

In 1159, he made a new eoin in England, and in 1180, as Ranulph de Dieeto and Stow say, "He re-coined all the light and broken money, and ealled in all the bad. Holliugshed also mentions, that in 1180 he sent for an artist, Philip Aymary of Tours, to superintend a new and improved coinage. Adam de Bedleia, Richard de Neketon, and William Ta, having been moneyers, whose names appear on the short double cross coins ascribed to Henry II., and who, on the authority of Madox, were moneyers at London in the fourteenth year of Henry III., and a person named Ilger, whose name appears on some of the short cross coins, being *custos monetæ* at London, in the sixth year of Henry III., Ruding and others have thereby been led to appropriate these short cross Henries to that king (Henry III.). Now in the first place, that the same persons should have been moneyers to Henry II. and III. both, is neither impossible nor improbable, the difference between their respective reigns being but twenty-seven years; and again, in the years immediately succeeding the Conquest, there is every reason to suppose that the art of

coining was exclusively exercised by certain families, and that in consequence of the paucity of the Anglo-Norman vocabulary of that period, together with the predilection (still existing) of calling some of the sons after the father or grandfather, it is more than probable that the trade of the father was, together with his name, handed down to his children, after the manner of the ancient Egyptians. It therefore need not, under such circumstances, be matter of wonder, should the same names appear on the coins of half a dozen successive sovereigns.

2ndly. The moneyers of Henry III., as Leake acutely observes, would hardly be guilty of the solecism of representing him in the sixteenth year of his age with a long beard and old face, together with a crown, sceptre, and reverse totally different from what was afterwards used on his coin, whereas those with the numerals, said not to be coined until his thirty-second year, are remarkable for the youthfulness of the king's appearance upon them.

3rdly. The reverses of the coins of William the Lion, who was successively cotemporary with Henry II., Richard I., and John, will be found not only nearly similar in type to those appropriated by Leake to Henry II., but also to the reverses of the coins of John reading *Dominus*, which were coined in the early part of his father's reign, while on the obverse of all the double cross coins of William, the cap consists of pearls similar to the crown of Henry.

4thly. The probability that the moneyers of Scotland should rather copy the type of the English coinage, than that the moneyers of England should copy theirs; an hypothesis which will at once be apparent on contrasting the coins of the first three Edwards, with those of Robert and David Bruce their cotemporaries; and recollecting that the first Scotch groats coined by David, did not appear

until after the issue of the English groats by Edward ; that on their obverse the king's head was enclosed in a tressure, the reverse having two circles of legends, and their weight being 72 grains, precisely that of Edward's. And what renders this more probable, is the blundered French legend on William's coins, a compliment no doubt to Henry II. whose prisoner he then was, and who then held his court in Normandy ; these coins being supposed by Cardonnel to be struck for the purpose of paying his ransom.

5thly. William the Lion did not come to the throne of Scotland until eleven years after the accession of Henry II., and eight years after he (Henry II.) had ordered a new coinage. This circumstance, together with the fact, that no coin of any of the Scottish monarchs preceding William has as yet been decidedly pronounced as such by numismatists, proves beyond a doubt that his coins must have been copied from those of Henry, whilst their weight being also similar to the English sterling, strengthens the conjecture.

6thly. The abundance of the short cross coins of Henry, dug up every day in Ireland, and introduced most probably by the early Anglo-Norman invaders of it, and by Henry II. himself, when he subjugated Ireland in 1172.

7thly. The co-incomparative rarity of those with the numerals and long cross, when contrasted with the short cross coins, produced no doubt by the scarcity of money in Henry III.'s reign, which had become very great through the immensity squandered by him in his two French expeditions, when he is said to have taken no less than fifty barrels of sterlings with him out of the kingdom, as also through the avarice of his brother, the Earl of Cornwall, who farmed the mints, and who, when created king of the Romans, carried 700,000 pounds sterling with him to Germany, which produced

such a want of circulating medium, and so inundated the country with base moneys, that a grievous famine was the consequence.

8thly. No Irish money of Henry III. with the short cross having as yet been discovered, it is not likely that the Earl of Cornwall, who farmed all the royal mints, and who was rather grasping in his disposition, should permit those of Dublin to remain unproductive so long (Dublin being one of the mints mentioned in the proclamation for the new coinage); therefore, if the long cross was not introduced on his coins until his thirty-second year, Irish coins with the short cross and triangle should be common; but none as yet have appeared.

9thly. The crown on King John's money, instead of consisting of a row of five pearls, with a cross of pearls in the centre, is exactly similar in type to that on the coins of Henry III. with the numerals, consisting of a thick line with turned-up ends terminating in pearls, and with a fleur-de-lis in its centre.

Finally, in how few instances out of thirty-two mints, does the same mint-master's name occur on the short and long double-cross Henries, a thing almost impossible, if both were coined by the same monarch; whilst the change in the orthography of the places of mintage and moneymasters' names, which from being semibarbarous on the short, change, on the long cross coins, to names differing little from those of the present day, proves they cannot have been the coinage of the same monarch, *ex. grā.*

| Short-cross. | | Long-cross. |
|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| Brist | for Bristol | Brist |
| Oxene | for Oxford | Oxonia. |
| Joan | for John | John |
| Rodbert | for Robert | Robert |
| Cardi | for Carlisle | Carlei |

These, which I believe to be facts, are in favour of the short cross coins being struck, not only during the reign of William the Lion, but also prior to that of King John, whose face on his *Dominus* coins, stamped during the lifetime of his father, is surrounded by pearls; whereas, on his *Rex* coins, the crown has been changed to that form which subsequently appears on the numerical coins of his son and successor Henry III., and which is of a more elegant type; there being as yet no example of any of the English monarchs substituting, for an improved form of crown on their coins, one of more barbarous delineation. At the same time, we see a similar type of crown, namely the open crown *fleuré*, on the coins of Alexander II. and III., who were successively contemporaries with Henry III.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your's truly,

WILLIAM YORKE MOORE.

EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq.
etc. etc. etc.

III.

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE PENNIES OF HENRY WITH THE SHORT AND LONG CROSS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January 28, 1847.]

A small hoard of coins was discovered at Teston, in the county of Kent, towards the close of the past year. It consisted of thirty-seven pennies of the type commonly called the short cross, (No. 286 in Mr. Hawkins' work,) attributed by him to Henry II.; and of three pennies of William the Lion, king of Scotland; and it is believed that these forty coins constituted the entire find.

The coins of Henry are of the following mints and moneyers:—

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|---|-----------|---|---|---------------|
| Canterbury | - | - | Coldwine | - | - | 1 |
| | | | Johan | - | - | 1 |
| | | | Johan B. | - | - | 1 (Pl. No. 1) |
| | | | Johan M. | - | - | 1 |
| | | | Meinir | - | - | 1 |
| | | | Samuel | - | - | 2 |
| | | | | | — | 7 |
| Chichester | - | - | Willelm | - | - | 1 |
| Durham | - | - | Pieres | - | - | 1 |
| London | - | - | Abel | - | - | 5 |
| | | | Fulke | - | - | 2 |
| | | | Ilger | - | - | 9 |
| | | | Rauf | - | - | 2 |
| | | | Walter | - | - | 4 |
| | | | Willem T. | - | - | 1 |
| | | | | | — | 23 |
| Nicole (? Lincoln) | - | - | Hue | - | - | 1 |
| No (Northampton or Norwich) | - | - | Renaud | - | - | 1 |
| Winchester | - | - | Lukas | - | - | 1 |
| York | - | - | Nicole | - | - | 1 |
| Double struck | - | - | Simon | - | - | 1 |
| | | | | | — | 37 |

The British Museum possesses specimens of each of the above moneyers, under the respective mints.

The legends and types of the three pennies of William the Lion, are as follows:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Obv.—+ LQAM LQR</i> <i>R.—+ DQ . . . LQO</i> | { 'Type similar to Lindsay, Pl. 2, No. 37. The obverse le- gend probably blundered from "Le Rei Wilam." } { Lindsay, Pl. 2, No. 38. } |
| 2. <i>Obv.—+ WIL QLQVS REX</i> <i>R.—+ DVQ ON QDN QBVR</i> | |
| 3. <i>Obv.—+ WILAM.</i> <i>R.—+ DQNR . . . VS</i> | |

This last coin differs somewhat from No. 39 of Lindsay, and is engraved in the accompanying Plate, No. 2.

The whole of the coins appear to have been little if at all in circulation; but the English pennies are more imperfectly struck than is generally the case with coins of the type.

The discovery of so small a number of coins of well-known and ordinary types would hardly be worth recording, if it were not for the opportunity which it affords of offering a few remarks on the controversy, which has arisen within the last few years, as to the correct appropriation of the pennies of Henry with the short cross. These coins were assigned to Henry II., by Archbishop Sharpe, Leake, Fleetwood, and Tindal (in the notes to his translation of Rapin's History of England), the earliest writers on the English coinage, chiefly on the assumption, that because certain coins of Henry III. bore the numerals III. or *Treci*, no coins on which those numerals do not appear, could be considered as belonging to him. It is, however, by no means a necessary consequence, that because the numerals were used by Henry III. on his money, they must have been adopted at the very commencement of his reign. Accordingly, Snelling and subsequent authors, relying upon Matthew Paris, who states that the long cross was not adopted upon the coinage until the thirty-second year of Henry III., have treated the short cross coins as his first issue; and this opinion had been generally acquiesced in, until Mr. Hawkins, in his work on the English Silver Coinage, published in 1841, re-transferred them to Henry II.

The hoard recently discovered throws little light on this question. But if an inference can be drawn either way from the type of the three coins of William the Lion which were found with those of Henry, it would seem to lead to the appropriation of the latter to Henry III., rather than to Henry II. William the Lion reigned from 1165 to 1214.

Many of his pennies, while they bear considerable resemblance to the coins of Stephen, and to one or two of the types usually attributed to Henry I, are very different in type from those of his successor, Alexander II, to which others of his coins are very similar. Cardonnel and Lindsay, therefore, in the absence of any means of determining the chronology of the different types of William's money from mint or other records, conclude that the former class constitute the coinage of the early part of his reign, and that the others were a late issue. Now, as the three coins found at Teston were of this later sort, and as the interval between the death of Henry II. and the death of William the Lion is twenty-five years, while the interval between William's death and the date at which the first general coinage of Henry III. took place (1222), is only eight years, it seems reasonable to presume, that the English coins found at Teston were of that king whose reign approximated the most closely to the last years of William the Lion; and more especially, as it is probable that Scotch coins discovered in England are of earlier date than English coins found in the same hoard.

Mr. Hawkins assigns no reasons for transferring the short cross pennies back to Henry II. But a paper by Major Moore was lately read before the Numismatic Society, which contained some ingenious arguments in support of that appropriation. On the other hand, Mr. Sainthill and Mr. Haigh have vigorously contended against the disturbance of the received arrangement; and as the reasons alleged on either side of the question have never yet appeared in *juxta-position*, I shall devote the remainder of this paper to a brief examination of them, and to the suggestion of any further facts or remarks which may occur to me with reference to the subject.

The proof alleged in support of the attribution of these coins to Henry III, is chiefly twofold:—

First.—*The coincidence of the names of moneyers on the short and long cross coins.*

Mr. Haigh, in a paper printed in Mr. Sainthill's volume, entitled "*Olla Podrida,*" p. 128, gives a long list of moneyers whose names occur on the respective coinages, and shews that eight names on the London coins, five on those of Canterbury, two on those of Lincoln and Northampton, and one each, on those of Bristol, Exeter, Norwich, Oxford, and York, are common to both.

On making a similar comparison between the coins of Henry II. of the type, Hawkins, No. 285, with the short cross coins in the British Museum, I find that two names on the Canterbury coins, two on those of Exeter, five on those of London, one (or two, if *Rein* and *Renald* may be considered the same) on those of Northampton or Norwich, two on those of St. Edmundsbury or Shaftesbury, and one on those of Winchester, are in like manner common to both.

It is plain, therefore, that the coincidence of moneyers' names is a species of evidence which may be used either way; and it must moreover be borne in mind, that Mr. Sainthill and Mr. Haigh had an unusual opportunity of availing themselves of it, from the circumstance that a find of seven hundred long cross coins of Henry III. fell into the hands of the former, and of course furnished him with a great variety of mints and moneyers for comparison. If any large hoard of short cross coins should hereafter be discovered, it is probable that it would furnish materials on both sides of the question, for strengthening this branch of evidence.

But I cannot help concurring with Major Moore in op-

nion, that much weight is not to be attached to this branch of proof.

The names of moneymen which are given by Mr. Haigh as occurring on coins of the same mint, both with the short and long cross, are as follows:—

| | | | |
|------------------|---|-------------------|----------------------|
| London . . . | { Davi. Henri. Johan. Nicole. Reinaud. Ricard. Walter. Willem. | Lincoln . . . | { Walter. Willem. |
| | | Northampton . . . | { Philip. Willem. |
| | | Bristol . . . | Henri. |
| | | Exeter . . . | Johan. |
| Canterbury . . . | { Johan. Nicole. Robert. Walter. Willem | Norwich . . . | Johan. |
| | | Oxford . . . | Geffrei. |
| | | York . . . | Tomas. |

The names of moneymen found to occur on coins of Henry II. and on the short cross coins of the same mint, are—

| | | | |
|------------|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| London | { Geffrei. Johan. Pieres. Ricard. Rodbert. | Exeter . . . | { Ricard. Roger. |
| | | Northampton | } Rein. Renald or Norwich Willelm. |
| Canterbury | { Roger. Willem. | St. Edmunds- bury or Shaf- tesbury. | { Rauf. Willelm. |
| | | Winchester . | Robert. |

The first list comprises twelve different names, the latter nine, or ten if *Rodbert* and *Robert* are considered to be different names.

It will however be observed, that by far the greater part of these names are of the most ordinary occurrence, as *Johan*, *Willelm*, *Ricard*, *Henri*, *Tomas*, *Nicole*, *Robert*,

Rauf; and as there perhaps has never been a time since the days of Henry II, when a John, or William, or Thomas, might not be found among the moneyers, much stress can hardly be laid on the occurrence of such names on coins of two types, as proving them to be of the same king; and particularly as there is every reason to believe, that the son frequently inherited the office of moneyer from his father, as well as his name. If, on the one hand, the names of *Davi* and *Philip* are somewhat unusual, on the other, that of *Pieres* is even more so: and moreover, the very uncommon name of *Aschetil* occurs on the coins of Henry II. and on a short cross coin,¹ though not of the same mint. But as it is of Wilton on the former, and Exeter on the latter, it would be by no means an improbable supposition, considering the relative position of the two towns, that the same person is referred to on both.

Secondly.—*Evidence supplied by Records and Contemporary Writers.*

It must be admitted, that the proof drawn from these sources is at present wholly on the side of those who assign the short cross coins to Henry III. Matthew Paris, a contemporary writer, expressly states, that in the thirty-second year of Henry III. (A.D. 1248) a general re-coining took place; and that in the new money the type was so far altered, that the double cross was made to pass through the lettered circle; but that in other respects, as to weight, obverse, and legend, it continued as before.²

¹ This coin is not to be found in the British Museum, nor have I myself seen a short cross coin bearing the name of *Aschetil*; but it is given on the authority of the list in Mr. Sainthill's *Olla Podrida*, p. 131.

² His words are: "Cujus inquam monetas forma a veteri diversicabatur in tantum, quod crux duplicata limbum literatum pertransibat; in reliquis autem, pondere, capitali impressione, cum literato titulo, permanente ut prius."

Doubts have been thrown on the accuracy of the statement of Matthew Paris on this subject; because he says the obverse of the coins remained as before, without noticing the introduction of the numerals. But it must be remembered, that he had been treating of the extensive frauds committed by clipping the old coin even to the inner circle: and it may fairly be inferred, that in describing the new, he mentioned only the especial point of difference (the extension of the double cross to the outer edge) which was adopted to remedy that evil; without noticing mere variations of type which were foreign to the purpose of his narrative. This view of the matter is confirmed by the circumstance that neither does he notice the novel appearance of three pellets in the quarters of the reverse, instead of the cross botonné which is found on the short cross coins.

I therefore see no sufficient reason for discrediting the old historian on a matter of fact which must have been within his personal knowledge, even if no collateral proof had been obtainable from other sources. But it so happens that such collateral proof is not wanting.

Mr. Haigh has produced a remarkable corroboration derived from an entry in the Patent Rolls. Among the coins of the Canterbury mint with the short cross, there is one reading *Simon on Cnt.*, and another reading *William Ta on C.* The entry in question, under date of the fourteenth year of Henry III, states, that the king had granted to *William*, his *tailor*, the custody of the money-die which *Simon Chich*, lately deceased, had held in the City of Canterbury.³

³ Through the kindness of Mr. Hardy, I have been enabled to examine the original Roll preserved in the Tower. The words of the entry, divested of contractions, are as follows:—

It is also recorded, in a roll quoted in Madox's History of the Exchequer, that in the sixth year of Henry III., *Ityer*, the king's goldsmith, was appointed one of the *custodes monetæ* of the city of London. His name appears frequently on the short cross pennies, but not on those with the long cross. Out of twenty-three London pennies in the Teston hoard, no less than nine bear his name.

Adam de Bedleia, and *Richard de Neketon*⁴ are mentioned in Madox as moneymasters in London in the fourteenth year of Henry III. The name of *Ricard* appears as a moneymaster on both the short and long cross coins; but that of *Adam* on the former only.

The Scottish historians state, that the improvement of extending the cross to the outer edge of the coin was adopted in Scotland by Alexander III. in 1250. Considering how rapidly the Scottish monarchs adopted other improvements or changes in the English coinage, it can hardly be supposed that an alteration so obviously for the better, would not have been followed for nearly thirty years; yet that must have been the case, if the long cross was used on the coins of Henry III. from the beginning of his reign.

I am not aware that anything has yet been produced in favour of the appropriation of the short cross coins to Henry II., to rebut this historical proof on the opposite side.

De cuneo Cantuar'.

¶ Rex concessit magistro Willelmo Scissori suo, quod quamdiu vixerit habeat custodiā cunei Cantuar' quod fuit in custodia Simonis Chich qui mortuus est, et quod post mortem ipsius Simonis commisit Rex eidem Willelmo custodiendum ad voluntatem suam. Teste Rege apud Portesm' xxviii. die Aprilis.

⁴ Richard de Neketon is included in the list of moneymasters of Henry III. given by Ruding. I have never seen or heard of any coin bearing the name thus in full; and I imagine that Ruding (who appears not to have been a practical numismatist) must have inserted the name merely on the authority of Madox.

Among the reasons adduced by Major Moore in support of that view are:—

First.—Correspondence in type with coins of earlier date than the Reign of Henry III.

He argues that the short cross coins belong to Henry II., from the resemblance of their reverse to that of the coins of William the Lion of Scotland, and also to that of the early Irish coins of John, which read DOM:; because it is more likely that the Scottish and Irish moneyers copied an English type which already existed, than that the English moneyers copied a Scottish or Irish type. This argument of course rests on the assumption, that until the appearance of the short cross coins of Henry, there was no English type which could have served as a model for those coinages of William the Lion, or of John. Such an assumption, however, is entirely destitute of foundation. The reverse of the later coins of William the Lion, to which alone Major Moore can refer, bears even a greater resemblance to that of one of the most usual types of Stephen (Hawkins, pl. xxi. No. 269), than it does to the reverse of the short cross coins of Henry:⁵ and it is moreover obvious, on an inspection of the remarkable coin of William, engraved in Lindsay (pl. ii., No. 33), that his moneyers took the coins of Stephen as a pattern.⁶ In like manner, the reverse of the Irish half-pennies of John which read DOM:, is quite as similar to the reverses of the coins of Henry I., Hawkins, pl. 20, Nos. 256 and 264, as it is to the short cross coins of Henry.⁷

Secondly.—Another argument adduced by Major Moore

⁵ The reverses of one coin of each of the three types referred to, are given for the purpose of comparison in the Plate, Nos. 3, 4, and 5.

⁶ See in the Plate, a coin of Stephen, No. 6, for comparison with the coin of William the Lion, No. 7.

to prove that the short cross coins must be of Henry II., is the non-discovery of any Irish money of Henry III. with the short cross. If, says he, the coinage of all the earlier part of the reign of Henry III. had been of that type, it might have been expected that short cross coins with the Irish obverse would have been common, whereas none have ever yet appeared. The non-appearance of any Irish money of Henry III. with the short cross, may however be accounted for by the abundant Irish coinage issued by his predecessor John, not only during the life of Henry II., but also towards the end of his own reign. The first notice of his coinage in Ireland, after he became king, occurs in his eleventh year (1210), and this coinage may have rendered a further issue for the service of Ireland unnecessary at the commencement of the reign of Henry III.

Other reasons are offered by Major Moore in support of his view of the question; but none, I think, which are equally plausible with those already adverted to. He alleges, for instance, the aged appearance of the bust on the short cross coins as a presumption against their being intended for the representation of a youthful sovereign. But the coins of our other early kings afford scarcely any evidence to support the idea that the mint artists of those days ever attempted a portrait.

Again, from the similarity of the crown on the Irish regal coins of John, to that on the long-cross coins of Henry III., he draws the inference, that the short-cross coins, upon which the crown is of a different form, must have been of a preceding and not an intervening type. The degree of resemblance will be estimated by numismatists on comparison of the respective types: to me it does not appear striking.

⁷ See the reverses of all three in the Plate, Nos. 8, 9, and 10.

Major Moore further rests his case on an improvement and modernisation in the orthography of names and places, which he conceives he finds on the long cross coins. Even admitting the exact accuracy of the observation, it would not much affect the question at issue, because the interval of time between the two coinages does not greatly differ on either supposition. But I confess I cannot discover any material difference in this respect between the two types, unless one of the best spelt specimens of the first be contrasted with a specimen of the other, on which less than the average amount of scholarship has been manifested. If the name of Oxford is improved from *Oxene* on the short cross coins, to the classical orthography of *Oxonia*, on one specimen with the long cross; on the other hand, Exeter is deteriorated from *Exes* to *Eccet* or *Ecet*; *Norwic*, to *Norwiz*; Shrewsbury, from *Salo* to *Sros*; while York is still *Everwic*, and not *Eboraci*.

The comparative rarity of the long cross coins over those with the short cross is also alleged by Major Moore. In this country, however, I am not aware there is much difference in this respect, both varieties being among the commonest of the English series. Nor is it easy to see the force of the argument, that this alleged more frequent occurrence of the short cross coins, arises from a large introduction of them into Ireland by Henry II. in 1172; the earliest date assigned to them, on any hypothesis, being 1180.

Professor Holmboe of Christiania, in an account of a hoard discovered in Norway, among which were four of the short cross coins, has endeavoured to prove that they are of Henry II. I have not his tract to refer to; nor if I had, do I possess that knowledge of continental coins which would enable me to form a judgment as to his conclusions. But Mr. Haigh, in his paper on the long and short cross

coins to which I have already referred, states that the Professor can only prove the short cross coins to be Henry the Second's, by changing the previously received attribution of some of the coins found in the hoard, and by passing over others without notice.

Having thus touched upon the most material points urged on both sides, I proceed to notice a fact which militates against the appropriation of the short cross coins to Henry II., namely, the existence of one or two specimens of coins of that type, but having the legend "*Lunde Civitas*," on the reverse, without the name of a moneymaster.⁸ It is true that these coins do not furnish conclusive proof against such an appropriation, because, as it is admitted on all hands that the long cross coinage is of later date than the other, that coinage, on which the names of moneymasters are continued after the old plan, must have intervened between the striking of the coins reading "*Lunde Civitas*," and the general suppression of the names of moneymasters which took place in the reign of Edward I.; and if the old form of reverse legend was resumed on one coinage, it might have been reverted to on more than one. But if the short cross coins are assigned to Henry II., the first instance of the suppression of the moneymaster's name would be thrown forty years further back than if they are attributed to Henry III.; an hypothesis by no means probable.

⁸ Mr. Cuff possesses two specimens of the coin reading *Lunde Civitas*; and there is one in the British Museum. Mr. Cuff's coins in other respects resemble the usual type. The Museum specimen varies from it considerably. The portrait is different in character and detail; the legend commences over the head instead of at the side; and the sceptre, which on coins of the usual type leans towards the outer edge of the coin, in this one inclines from the outer circle, so that the cross at the end of it comes just above the head, and serves also for the usual cross at the commencement of the legend. See Plate, No. II.

On the whole therefore, it appears to me that no sufficient reason has yet been shewn for the re-transfer of the short cross coins from Henry III. to Henry II.

It may be said, that either appropriation involves the difficulty of the entire disappearance of an extensive coinage. If we give the short cross coins to Henry II., and admit the evidence of records, that Henry III. issued a coinage in his sixth year, as well as the assertion of Matthew Paris, that the long cross was not adopted until Henry's thirty-second year, then we have no specimen remaining to our times of the first of Henry's issue. If, on the other hand, we assign the short cross coins to Henry III., then the general coinage issued by Henry II. in 1180, under the superintendence of Philip Aymary of Tours, has entirely disappeared.

When we consider that many types of the money of Henry I. and Stephen are known only by one or two specimens, and that no English pennies of John have ever been discovered, although there is considerable evidence of a coinage having taken place in his reign, the latter supposition would appear more probable than the former.

But I would suggest for consideration, as a possible solution of this difficulty, whether the coins of Henry II. of the type, No. 285, Pl. xxii. of Hawkins, may be those issued in 1180. It is true that Radulf de Dieeto expressly states that coinage to have been *round* money; while the far greater part of the coins of this type which remain at this day, are by no means remarkable for rotundity: in fact I have one which is in shape a parallelogram. But on examining the specimens in the Museum Cabinet (the greater part of which came from the hoard discovered at Tealby in 1807), I find many which have evidently been struck in a collar, and are as perfectly circular as money of the present

day. Although the great majority of them are so exceedingly ill-struck, that only a part of the legend is visible on either side, yet here and there a well-struck specimen occurs, shewing the whole type and legend, and is a coin which would fully answer the description given to the coinage of 1180. The existence of such perfect specimens clearly proves, that the unsightliness of the greater proportion of this coinage arose, not from a defect of design, incompleteness of die, or want of means for producing circularity, but solely from mechanical negligence on the part of the mint workmen. Radulf de Diceto states that Philip Aymary, having been strongly suspected of conniving at the frauds of the moneymen, was after a time dismissed by Henry, and sent back to France. It would therefore appear that he did not superintend the execution of the whole of this coinage; and it is not improbable that those remaining specimens which are round and well-struck, may have been produced under his management; and that those which are imperfect were coined after his departure up to the end of the king's reign, the moneymen having relapsed into their former slovenliness of execution.

The appropriation of the coins of Henry I. and II. to their respective reigns is, as all English collectors are aware, a matter of great uncertainty, except as regards a few types, which from their resemblance to the coins of William the Conqueror and Rufus, may, with little doubt, be attributed to Henry I.⁹ The coins of Henry II. to which I

⁹ It is a remarkable fact, that while it is easy to discriminate between the coins struck by kings of the same name from the days of Ethelred I. to the Norman Conquest, it is one of the most difficult points connected with English Numismatic history, to establish satisfactory principles of distinction between the respective coinages of several of the monarchs of a later date bearing the

have adverted above, were formerly attributed by some writers to Henry I., and by others to Henry II.; and Mr. Combe, in his account of the Tealby find, published in vol. xviii. of the *Archæologia*, states it only as highly probable, or "nearly certain," that they really belonged to the latter monarch; and I am not aware that they were proved to be his, until Sir Henry Ellis, in 1837, demonstrated it, by a comparison of two of these coins in the British Museum, struck at Wilton and bearing the names of Achetil and Lantier as moneyers, with the record called the Chancellor's Roll of the eleventh of Henry II. (1165) also in the British Museum, in which Anschetil and Lantier occur as moneyers at Wilton.

As the coinage of Philip Aymary did not take place till fifteen years after the date of this record, the occurrence of the names of the two moneyers therein mentioned on coins of Henry II. is certainly a presumption that they were of an earlier issue. It is, however, by no means impossible, or even improbable, that the two moneyers may have still continued in office down to 1180, or that they may have been succeeded by men bearing the same name. The name of one of them, indeed, appears on the short-cross coinage as a moneyer at Exeter, as I have before observed.

same name. The coins of Æthelred I. and Æthelred II.; of Edward the Elder, Edward the Martyr, and Edward the Confessor; of Harold I. and Harold II.—from their resemblance to the types of preceding or succeeding sovereigns—are readily assignable to their respective owners; but, with the exception of a few types, it is not at present possible to distinguish, with any certainty, between the coins of William I. and William II.; Edward I. and Edward II., and, in some instances, Edward III.; or Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. Even down to the reign of Henry VIII., the correct attribution of every coin is not certain. There are groats which may belong either to Henry VI. or Henry VII.; and pennies which may be either of Henry VII. or Henry VIII.

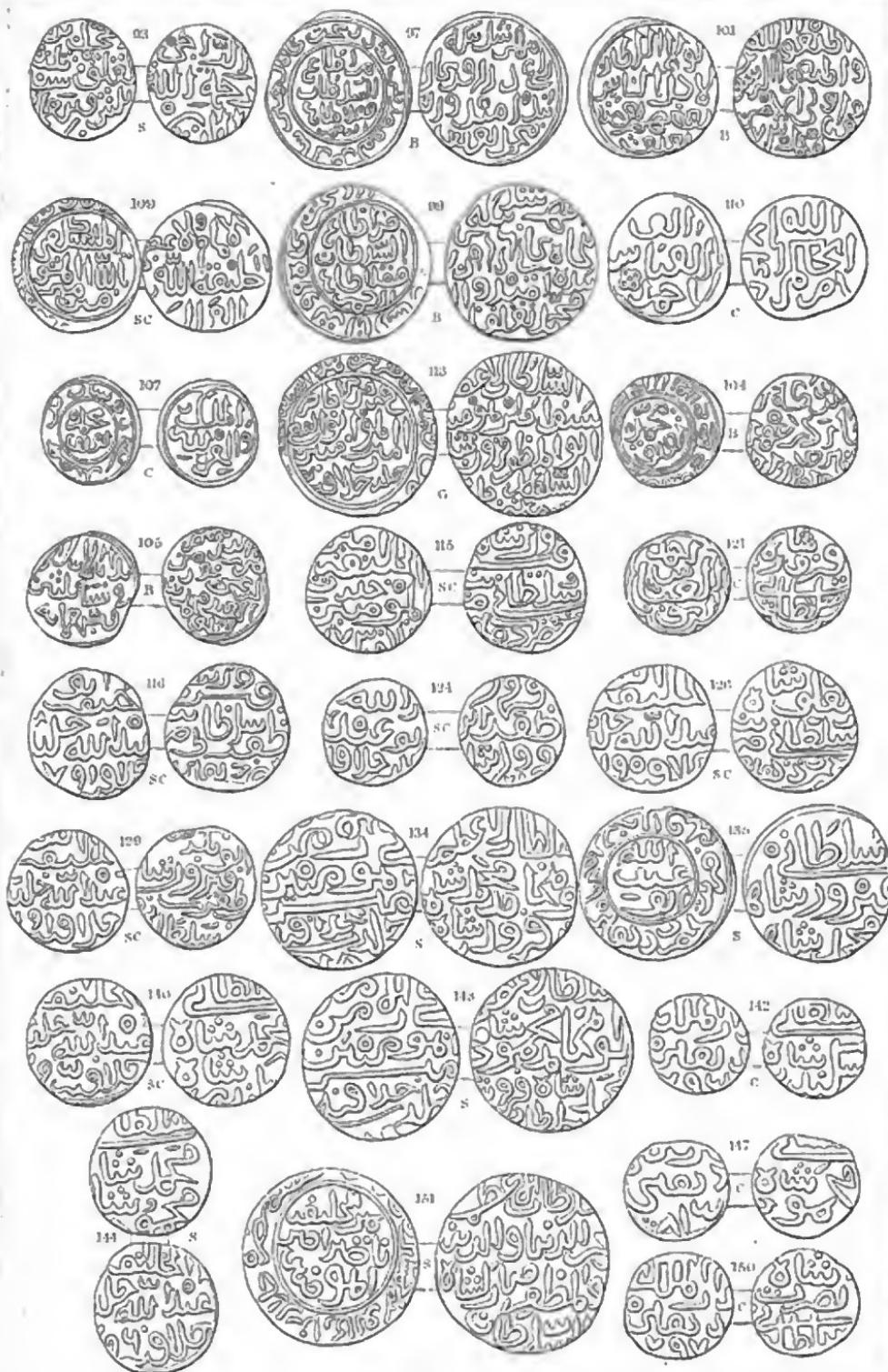
If this hypothesis as to the coinage of 1180 is deemed feasible, I would further suggest that the earlier coinages of Henry II. may be sought for in such of the types usually (but doubtfully) attributed to Henry I., as most resemble the coins of Stephen and John, as Nos. 256, 258, 259, 264, 265, of Hawkins.

I. B. BERGNE.

REFERENCE TO THE PLATE.

- No. 1.—Penny of Henry II. with the short cross, from the find at Teston.
 R.—+ IOHAN· B· ON· CAN.
- 2.—Penny of William the Lion, of Scotland, from ditto.
 R.—HENR . . . VS.
- | |
|---|
| { 3.—Reverse of a Penny of Stephen, in the British Museum |
| { 4.— ditto of William the Lion, ditto |
| { 5.— ditto of Henry with the short cross, do. |
- { 6.—Penny of Stephen, in the British Museum.
- { 7.—Ditto of William the Lion, in ditto.
- { 8.—Reverse of Irish Half-penny of John.
- { 9 and 10.—Reverses of different Pennies of Henry I.
- 11.—Penny of Henry, with the short cross reverse, reading LVNDE CIVITAS, in the British Museum.





IV.

COINS OF THE PATÁN, AFGHÁN OR GHORÍ SULTANS
OF HINDÚSTÁN (DELIÍ).

(Continued from vol. ix., page 182.)

74.—Copper. (*Lord Auckland.*)

Obe.—(vr.) السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ نَاصِرُ الدِّينِ وَالدِّيَنِ.

R.—Centre شاد خسرو

Marg.—ولي امير المؤمنين

The only numeral visible on this coin is that which must of necessity be taken to be the final figure of the animal date. This particular figure, looking to the then uncertain method of formation, as noticeable on the coins of the Patán kings immediately antecedent to the reign to which this piecee refers, may either be taken to represent a naught or a five.¹⁴ Accepting then the nearest proximate date, concluding with either one or the other of these numerals, it will be necessary to refer the issue of this coin to either the year 720 or 725: as the sultan whose name it bears is stated by historians to have attained power on the 25th of the third month of 721 II. The former is naturally the

¹⁴ Ex. gr. see coins 59 and 79.

preferable date: in adopting it, but slight violence is done to the probably accumulated errors of successive MS. copyists, who have each in their day transcribed the history of Hindústán from the 14th to the 19th century.

EIGHTEENTH KING (A.H. 721—725; A.D. 1321—1325).

On the 1st of Shabán, 721, Gházi Beg Tuglak, the governor of Lahore, who had relieved Delhí from the rule of Khusrú, entered the capital in triumph, and, appealing to the people to choose their own sovereign, he was himself elected by acclamation, receiving from the populace the title of *Sháh Jehán* (king of the world); which epithet, however, he replaced by the more modest denomination of *Ghiás ud din* (defender of the faith). The early arrangements for the peace and security of his dominions adopted by the monarch thus elevated, fully justified the selection of the citizens of the metropolis.

The second year of this reign was marked by the failure of the army under Fukur ud din Júnah, the heir apparent, in an attempt to take Wurangól: to this succeeded a somewhat calamitous retreat, which ended in the prince's reaching Delhí with but a small remnant of the host by whom he had once been supported. Little time, however, was allowed to elapse before a more determined and better organised effort against this place met with full success.

In 724, the emperor proceeded in person into Bengal: here he received the allegiance of Násir ud din, the son of the sultan Balban; who, from the date of his first appointment in 680 H., had, under various terms and with varied boundaries, held the dependencies of this government, and who had already outlived no less than eight of the sultans

who had in turn attained the throne of Delhí. He was now again confirmed in the charge of Western Bengal, Tatar Khan, the sultan's adopted son, being entrusted with the direction of the eastern portion of that kingdom, where he succeeded in defeating and capturing the rebel governor, Buhádur Sháh. Ghias ud din, on his return to Hindústán, was met by his son Júnah, who had been left as his representative in Delhí. During the course of an entertainment, given in honor of the occasion, the emperor was killed by the fall of a portion of a temporary building, which had been hastily erected to receive him.

75.—Gold. 171 grs. V.R.

السلطان السعيد الشهيد الغازي غياث الدنيا و الدين.—

Obv.—The sultan, the fortunate, the testifier, the Gházi, Ghiás ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—*Area* 721. *Abú al Muzaffar Tughlaq Sháh*. May God illuminate his testimony. 721.

Marg.— ضرب هذه السكة - - - عشرين و سبعمائة— This coin was struck - - - (in) seven hundred and twenty- . .

76.—Gold. 173 grs. R.

السلطان الغازي غياث الدنيا و الدين أبو المظفر.— *Obv.*—The sultan, the Gházi, Ghiás ud dunia wa ud din Abúl Mu-zafar.

سكندر الثاني يمين الخليفة ناصر امير المؤمنين *R.*—*Area* 11. Alexander the Second, right hand of the khalifat, supporter of the commander of the faithful.

Marg.— ضرب هذه 11 - -

77.—Silver. 170 grs. R.

السلطان الغازي غياث الدنيا و الدين أبو المظفر.— *Obv.*

تغلق شاد السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين *R.*—*Area*

Mary.—خرب هذه السکه بقلعة دیوگیر في سنه احدی عشرین.—This coin (was) struck at the fortress of Deogir, in the year 721.

78.—Silver. 170 grs. R. A similar coin struck at Delhi in 724.

خرب هذه السکه بخراة دھلی في سنه اربع و سعمايه عشرین و سعمايه

79.—Silver and copper. 54 grs.

Obv.—السلطان الغازی غیاث الدین

R.—*Area شاد*

Mary.—**شاد سلطان** **غیاث سودا**

80.—Silver and copper. 55 grs. C.

Obv.—السلطان الغازی غیاث الدین

R.—*Area شاد سلطان*

81.—Copper. 53 grs. R.

Obv.—تغلق

R.—شاد

NINETEENTH KING (A.H. 725—752; A.D. 1325—1351).

On the death of his father, Fukur ud din Júnah, otherwise called Aluf Khán, ascended the throne of Delhi under the title of Mohammed bin Tuglak. The epoch of this accession has been rendered notable by the immense sums which were lavished by the new monarch with almost unexampled profusion. Mohammed Tuglak's personal acquirements are described by the writers of the day in the most laudatory terms: he was, at the same time, the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his time; his letters, both in Persian and Arabic, have been since regarded as models of such compositions: in brief, he was "one of the wonders of the age in which he lived." The only failing

he was as yet discovered to possess, was "a want of mercy." In 727, Hindústán was invaded by the Moghul Turmushí-rín Khán: the emperor, unable to oppose him, was forced to buy off the Gaul with almost the price of the kingdom he wished to save. About this time, Mohanímed Tuglak turned his attention to the reduction of the countries to the southward of his own dominions, and succeeded so effectually, that many valuable provinces were as fully "incorporated with the empire as the villages in the vicinity of Delhí:" he also subdued the whole Carnatic to the extremities of the Dukhun, from sea to sea; but, in the convulsions which shortly afterwards shook the kingdom, all these new acquisitions, with the single exception of Guzrát, were again lost. The principal causes of the disturbances here alluded to, were, the heavy taxes, the issue of copper money as the representative of silver, and the enrolment of the enormous armies which the emperor's schemes of conquest rendered necessary. The year 738 witnessed the first preparatory expedition towards the visionary project of his conquest of China: in the history of the same year is to be recorded the fact, that of the 100,000 men despatched upon this insensate attempt, scarcely a man returned to Delhí. Shortly after this, his still more infatuated design of removing the capital and its denizens from Delhí to Deogir, took possession of the sultan's mind: men, women and children, with all belonging to them, were to be transported to the new metropolis; trees, even, were to be made subject to the will of the despot, and, torn up by their roots and replanted on the road to the new capital, they were to furnish shade to the wayfarers who were destined to compose the population of the king-created city. Absolute force seems to have prevailed: its effects, however, were but transitory; for, at the end of two years,

it was found necessary to renew this strange transportation; and Delhí, the much-loved home of many, was once again left desolate.¹⁴ In fit keeping with these mad acts, was the absolute hunting of human beings, recorded against this monarch.

With the exception of the erection of an independent Mohammedan state in the Dukhun under Hussun Gungú (the foundation of the subsequently powerful dynasty of the Bahmaní kings of Kalbarga), the still varied tenor of the remaining eleven years of Mohammed Tuglak's domination does not offer any points of sufficient prominence to claim record in these brief notes.

82.—Gold. 200 grs. R.

Obv. اشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ، وَإِشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّداً عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ

I bear witness that there is no god but God, and I testify that Mohammed is his servant and apostle.

R.—Area الْوَاثِقُ بِتَائِيدِ الرَّحْمَنِ مُحَمَّدٌ شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ

The confiding in the benignity of the Merciful, Mohammed Shah, the sultan.

Mary. ضُرِبَ هَذَا الدِّينَارُ بِخَسْرَةِ دَهْلِيِّ سَنَةِ سَتِّ وَعَشْرِينَ—
This dinár was struck at the capital, Delhí, (in the) year 726.

¹⁴ The following account of Ibn Batuta, who was in part an eye-witness of the transactions referred to, will give some idea of the horrors perpetrated in carrying out this edict:—

“Upon this they all went out; but his servants finding a blind man in one of the houses, and a bed-ridden one in another, the emperor commanded the bed-ridden man to be projected from a balista (فِي الْمَنْجَنِيقَ), and the blind one to be dragged by his feet to Dawlatabad, which is at the distance of ten days, and he was so dragged; but his limbs dropping off by the way, only one of his legs was brought to the place intended, and was then thrown into it: for the order had been that they should go to this place. When I entered Delhí it was almost a desert.”

83.—Gold. 137 grs. V.R.

Obv. ضرب في زمان العبد الراجي رحمة الله محمد بن تغلق.—Struck in the time of the servant, trusting in the mercy
of God, Mohammed son of Tughlak.*R.*—Centre لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله There is no god
but God, Mohammed is the apostle of God.*Marg.* هذا الدينار بحضوره دهلي في سنة سبع وعشرين و—
سبعمائه This dínár, at the capital, Delhi, in the year 727.

84.—Gold. 171 grs. R.

Obv. والله الغني وانتم الفقرا— God is the rich, and ye (are)
the poor.*R.*—Centre في عهد محمد بن تغلق In the reign of Mo-
hammed, son of Tughlak.*Marg.* بحضوره دهلي سنة ست وثلاثين وسبعمائه— At the
capital, Delhi, year 736

85.—Gold. 167 grs. R.

Obv. ضرب هذا الدينار الخليفي الدهلي في شبور سنة اثنى—
وأربعين (اربعين) وسبعمائه This dínár of the Delhi kha-
lifat was struck in the months of the year 742.*R.*—في زمان الإمام المستكفي بالله أمير المؤمنين أبو—
الربيع سليمان In the time of the
Imám, Al Mostakfi Billah, commander of the faithful,
Abú Rubí Sulímán, may God perpetuate his khalifat.

86.—Gold. 171 grs. R.

Obv. في زمان الإمام أمير المؤمنين الحكم بأبر—
time of the Imám, commandor of the faithful, Al Hakim
Beamur.*R.*—Allahi Abú Abbás اللّه ابُو العَبَّاسِ احمد خلد ملکه—
Ahmud, may his reign endure.

The subjoined extract, giving the details of Mohammed Tuglak's doubts and difficulties, arising out of the want of due sacerdotal confirmation of the title by which he held his throne, is taken from Briggs' Translation of Ferishtah. It is here adopted in preference to the version given by Marsden, which is undoubtedly more satisfactory, as it appears in its English form, in respect to its explanations of the geographical part of the subject to which it refers, than either the rejected interpretation of Dow or the more trustworthy version of Briggs; but as the object, in these cases, is to reproduce accurately the literal expressions of any author quoted, and not in any way to accept an *amended MS.*, or to bend the original text to suit present knowledge, the appended passage is quoted as offering the most exact counterpart of the Persian original now available; the simple point at issue being to select the translator to whose MS. text the greatest confidence is due.

A.H. 743. "The king, at this time, took it into his head, that all the calamities of his reign proceeded from his not having been confirmed on his throne by the Abassy Caliph. He, therefore, despatched presents and ambassadors to Arabia [Egypt, *Marsden*], and caused the caliph's name, in place of his own, to be struck on all the current coin, and prohibited his own name from being included at public worship in the mosques till the caliph's confirmation arrived. In the year 744, a holy person, of the race of the prophet, named Hajy Sayeed Hoormozy [Sirsirri, *Dow* and *Marsden*], returned with the ambassador, and brought a letter from the caliph and a royal dress. The caliph's envoy was met twelve miles outside the city by the king in person, who advanced to receive him on foot, put the letter of the caliph upon his head, and opened it with great solemnity and respect. When he returned into the city, he ordered a grand festival to be made, and caused the public prayers to be said in all the mosques, striking out every king's name from the Khootba who had not been confirmed. Among the number of those degraded monarchs was the king's own

father. He even carried his fancy so far as to cause the caliph's name to appear on all his robes and furniture."—*Briggs*, i. 426.

The accuracy of the general tenor of this episode in the annals of the reign of Mohammed Tuglak, is sufficiently attested by coins Nos. 85, 95, 109, and Nos. 86, 110, 111: the former of which bear the simple record of the name of the supposed Egyptian khalif, Al Mostakfi Billah, and the dates, 742, 743, accompanied, in one instance, by a notification of issue from the Delhi mint. The remaining three coins are in like manner superscribed by the sole denomination of Al Abbás Ahmed, the actual recognised khalif of Egypt, and (in two out of the three specimens) are dated 724.

The profound ignorance of the events which from time to time took place, even in the circle of their own Mohammedan world, evinced by the Patán sultans of Delhi, has seldom been more prominently displayed than in the present instance. It would seem, from the expressions of Ferishtah, as rendered from Marsden's Persian MS., that information of the revival of the nominal Abbassite khalifat in Egypt in 659, had, in 743, only recently reached Hindústáu. It is manifest, from the money now described, that the emperor himself was at this very time totally unaware of the deposition and banishment of Mostakfi, which took place in 702; indeed, it could only have been on the return of his own ambassador that he became satisfactorily assured of the renewal of the Mamelük pageant head of Islam, and discovered even the bare name of the individual who then enjoyed these pontifical honors, viz. Al Abbás Ahmed, who succeeded Al Wathak Billah in 742.

The date on coin No. 85, viz. 742, together with that of 741, discovered on a similar coin by Professor Fraehn, indicate that the period fixed by Ferishtah for the de-

velopment of Mohammed Tuglak's religious doubts should be antedated by two years.

87.—Silver. 141 grs. V.R. Obverse and reverse areas bear the same legends as the gold coin No. 82.

R.—*Marg.* حضرت العدلی بخیرة دہلی سنہ خمس و سبعماہی This *Udlí* (was) struck at the capital, Delhi, in the year 725.

88.—Silver (much alloyed). 140 grs. C.

Obv. ضرب في زمان العبد الراجي رحمة الله محمد بن.—Struck in the time of the servant, trusting in the mercy of God, Mohammed, son of—

R.—السلطان السعيد الشهيد تغلق شاه سنہ ثمان وعشرين و سبعماہی The sultan, the fortunate, the testifier, Tuglak Sháh. Year 728.

89.—A somewhat similar coin. 136 grs. Dated 730. V.R. The workmanship, however, is much inferior to that of No. 88.

In referring to the early profusion of Mohammed Tuglak, and the enormous sums he is reported to have squandered in gifts and pensions, Ferishtah incidentally alludes to the intrinsic value of the money of this monarch, affirming that—"Nizam ud din Ahmed Bukshy, surprised at the vast sums stated by historians to have been lavished by this prince, took the trouble to ascertain, from authentic records, that these tunkas were of the silver currency of the day, in which was amalgamated a great deal of alloy, so that each tunka only exchanged for sixteen copper pice" (making a tunka worth only about 4d. instead of 2s.).—Briggs.

The main facts of this statement are readily seen to be correct, in the very composition of sundry specimens of the money of Mohammed Tuglak (see coins 88, 89). Though

Ferishtah has been unfortunate in accusing this sultan of making use of debased coin in almost the first transaction of his reign, for even supposing the subsequently adopted system of adulteration to have commenced thus early (which there are stringent reasons for doubting), it could have supplied but a small quota of the enormous amount reported to have been bestowed on this occasion, viz. £2,133,324. Mohammed Tuglak's predecessors too, judging from the invariably pure specimens of their mintages which have survived to contribute their testimony to the point, must be fully exonerated from any charge of debasing the coinage; so that, although Mohammed Tuglak is accused, and justly so, of various frauds upon the circulating medium of his dominions, the reduction of the value of his early largesses by one-fourth is not authorised by the medallie evidence now cited.

90.—Silver. 169 grs. V.R.

Obv.—Sides ابو بکر عمر عنمان علی Abubekr Umur, Usmán, Uli.

Area— The labourer in the road of God, Mohammed bin Tughlak Sháh.

R.—*Area* لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

ضرب هذه السکه - - في سنه - عشرين و سبعين

91.—Silver, small coin. 56 grs. C.

Obv.— السلطان العادل

محمد بن تغلق شاد ٦٧٢

92.—Silver, small coin. 52 grs.

Obv.— المُجَاهِدُ فِي سَبِيلِ اللّٰهِ

محمد بن تغلق شاد ٦٧٣

93.—Silver, small coin. 55 grs. C.

Obv.—الْمُلْكُ وَ الْعَظَمَةُ لِلَّهِ—Dominion and greatness are of God.

R.—٧٣٢ (The) servant, the trusting, Mohammed Tughlak. 732.

94.—Silver, small coin. C. 733.

Obv.—الرَّاجِي رَحْمَةَ اللَّهِ—

محمد بن تغلق شنة ثلث وثلاثين وسبعين.—

95.—Silver. 55 grs. V.R.

Obv.— - - خَلِيفَةَ اللَّهِ فِي - - . Vicegerent of God in . . .

R.—٧٤٣ Al Mustakfi Billah, 743.

96.—Brass. 136 grs. R. Doulutábad. 730 A.H.

مهر شد سکه رائج در روزگار بنته امیدوار محمد تغلق.—

(This piece) was struck (as) a current coin, in the time of the servant, hopeful (of divine mercy), Mohammed Tuglak.

من اطاع السلطان فقد اطاع الرحمن.—

He who obeys the king, truly he obeys the Merciful (God).

Marg.—در تخت گاد دولت اباد سال ? - هفتصد سی—

At the royal residence (capital), Doulutábad, year . . . Seven hundred (and) thirty.

Had Mohammed Tuglak been at all conversant with the modern history of his day, he would probably have hesitated in attempting so radical a change as the introduction of a representative currency, when a similar experiment had but a short time previously (693, II.) been the subject of signal failure in a kingdom not far removed from his own boundaries. Kai Khátou Khan, the Moghul emperor of Persia, had in like manner adopted ideas on the subject from the Chinese, and endeavoured, by the aid of a carefully organised system, and a simultaneus issue of the

new notes in the various provinces of his dominions, to enforce the circulation of paper money. The dissatisfaction arising from the measure soon became general, and the inhabitants of the capital (Tabriz) rising as one man, somewhat summarily secured the abrogation of the "Tchao" edict : moreover, the ill-feeling engendered by its temporary experience went far towards the subsequent overthrow of the monarch himself. The following translation of the account of the transaction, which forms the immediate subject of reference, given from the *Tubkát Akhberí*, is adopted as entering into a more comprehensive detail of the circumstances attendant on this singular episode in the history of Indian finance, than the relation to be found in *Ferishtah*, which is somewhat unconnected in itself, and appears to confound into one act the separate features of debasing the coinage on the one hand, and the issue of an avowed copper representative of the more precious metals on the other. *Ferishtah's* narration may be consulted in the translations of Dow and Briggs, vol. i., pp. 282 and 414 respectively.

"The sultan's means did not suffice to satisfy his desires : to gain his ends, therefore, he created a copper currency, ordering coins of that metal to be struck in his mint, after the manner of gold and silver ; he then ordained that this copper money should pass current as gold and silver, and so should be used in all commercial transactions. The Hindus brought large quantities of copper to the mint and had it coined, and so made for themselves enormous profits ; and purchasing goods, and exporting them to other countries, received in exchange gold and silver money. Goldsmiths also manufactured coins in their own houses, and passed them in the bazaars. After some time, things came to such a pass, that, at distant places, the sultan's edict was not observed, and the people took the king's coins only at their intrinsic value in copper, and speculators brought them thence to those

parts of the country where the order remained in force, and there exchanged them for gold and silver. In this way the copper currency became by degrees so redundant, that, all at once, it utterly lost credit and was regarded as mere rubbish, while gold and silver became even more precious than before, and commerce was entirely deranged. When the sultan saw that his measure had failed, and that he could not, even by punishment, bring the whole population to obedience, he issued a decree, ordaining that every one who had a royal coin might bring it to the treasury and receive in exchange a gold or silver coin of the old stamp.¹⁵ He thought by this means to restore his copper currency to credit, so that it might be again accepted in exchanges; but the copper money which had been accumulated in people's houses and thrown on one side as worthless, was immediately collected and brought to the treasury to be exchanged for gold and silver coin; and the copper tokens still remained as little current as before, while all the royal treasuries were emptied, and general financial ruin fell upon the whole kingdom."—*Vide Persian MS., Tubkát Akhberi, East India House.*

Many circumstances concur, in demonstrating that the class of coins of which Nos. 96, 97, 98 and 99, are specimens, formed part of the money issued on this peculiar occasion. The causes which lead to this conclusion may be briefly enumerated as follows:—1st. The similarity in weight observable between these coins and the impure silver pieces (Nos. 88, 89) whose place they were seemingly intended to supply: an approximation, it is to be remarked, which does not occur in the previous examples of the silver and copper coinage of this series. 2nd. The shape, which is in a degree assimilated to the assumed prototype; and—3rd. The intrinsic novelty, likewise now for the first time noticeable in the use of brass as a material for coinage. But beyond these minor reasons, there remains the conclusive one of the internal evidence borne by the legends

¹⁵ Mirát al Alem has *jj* كـ

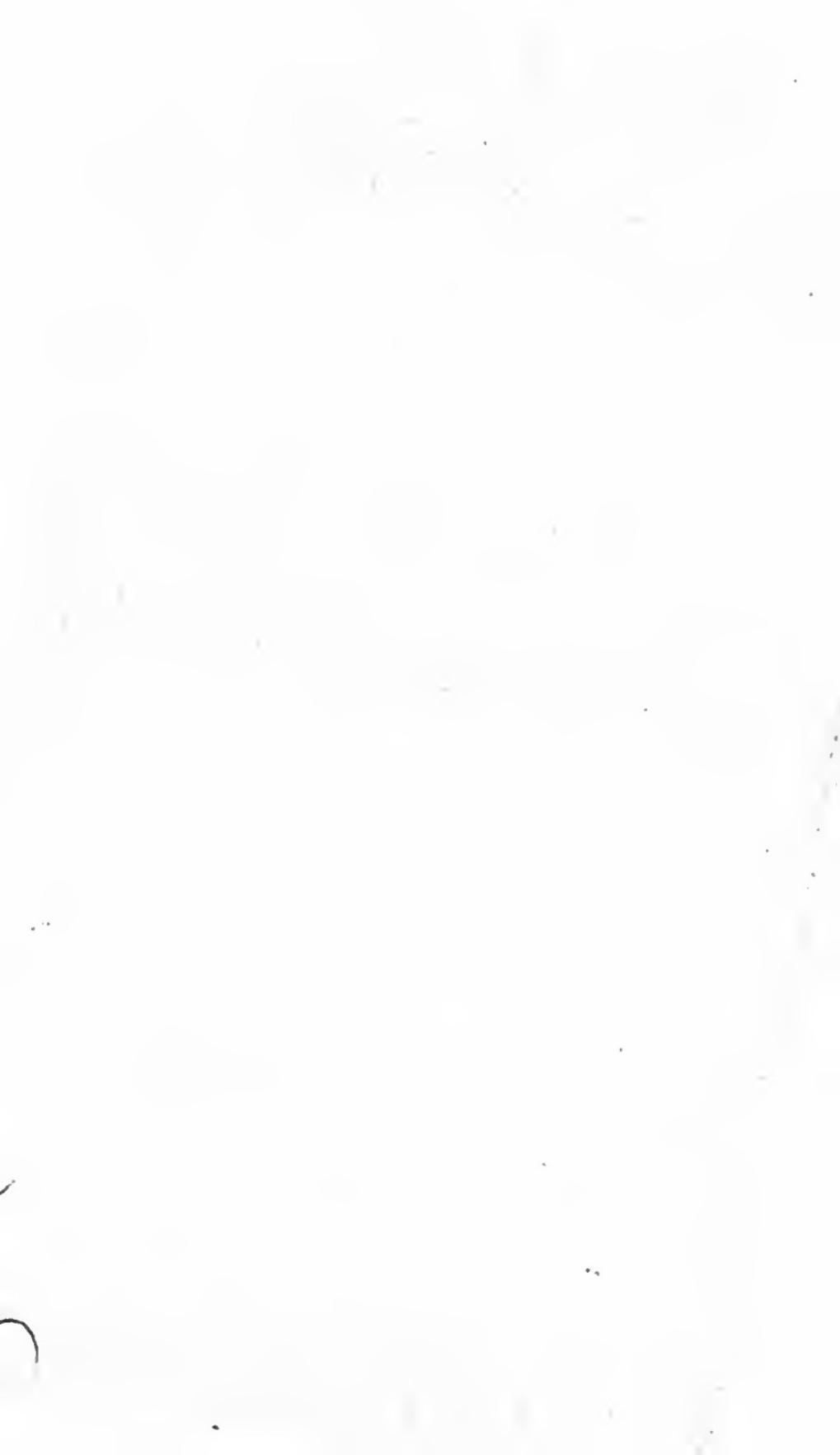
on the coins themselves, as seen in the use, in the one case, of the term, "struck as current money," and, in the other, of an inscription fixing the relative value of the piece impressed: intimations unsanctioned by custom, and, which it is needless to say, a full intrinsic metallic value would have rendered superfluous.

It is probable that many other coins, composed of a similar admixture of metals, and bearing legends in a measure appropriate to the occasion, constituted a portion of the forced currency of Mohammed Tuglak; it may be advisable to advert concisely to each in detail. As regards No. 100, the identity of date and metal, accompanied by the retention of a portion of the same legend as No. 96, sufficiently indicates that a similar object attended the mintage of both. In the case of No. 101, the two first of these points of similarity equally exist, and the inscriptions in themselves counsel due obedience to the sovereign, who, in the issue of the money, thus heavily tried the subservience of his subjects. The signs of agreement with the adopted sample of this representative coinage, to be detected in Nos. 102 and 103 are less prominent, and are confined to a coincidence in date and metal: however, on the supposition that in a comprehensive scheme, such as the present is shown to have been, it would have been necessary to provide proportionate substitutes for the smaller silver pieces; the specimens now cited may fairly claim admittance into the series under review. Nos. 104 and 105, under different forms of inscription to those employed on other coins of the class, bear full signs of their definite purpose, and in their respective record of جائز "current," "lawful," and شرعی "legal," amply manifest the design with which they were produced.

The dates on these coins are sufficiently in unison with

the information to be gathered from *written* history, not to militate in any way against the validity of the opinion now advanced, as to the occasion to which the money in question owes its origin. The evidence of Indian authors, however, as to the exact time at which the first issue of brass tokens took place, or as to the period during which this Substitute system remained in force, is greatly deficient; and the several narratives of the *Tubkát Akhberí*, the *Mirát al Alem*, and the chronicles of *Ferishtah*, all fail in this respect: from the coins themselves, therefore, must be sought an elucidation of these doubtful points.

It will be seen that the brass coins already classed under the head of Mohammed Tuglak's forced currency, uniformly bear one of three dates, either 730, 731, or 732: the first of these is to be found on full six-tenths of the whole of the very numerous specimens available for reference; next in order of abundance is to be seen the annual date of 731; and, lastly, the number 732 is but rarely met with: implying, if such testimony is trustworthy, a very extensive fabrication during the first, and, apparently commencing year, sufficiently supported during the second, and followed by a remarkable diminution in the issue of the third year. It may be assumed, therefore, that 730 A.H., witnessed the first vigorous effort at the introduction of the new currency, well sustained during 731, and failing entirely in 732. The limitation here assigned to the survival of this Indian adaptation of the Chinese *Tchao* system, is curiously supported both in the negative as well as direct evidence, deducible from the *real* money of Mohammed Tuglak. The ample materials at command, admit of the abundant and unbroken numismatic illustration of each of the first thirteen years of the reign of this prince, of the *dated* coins thus capable of being cited; scarcely a solitary instance of either





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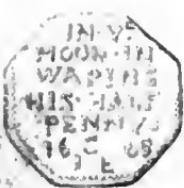
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gold or silver money occurs bearing the dates 730 or 731.¹⁶ It has been already shown that the brass money was manufactured *only* during 730, 731, and part of 732; and, to complete the chain and fill up the years both initiative and conclusive of this financial change, the silver coins, Nos. 89 and 93, may be quoted as bearing respectively the annual dates of 730 and 732. Hence, as far as may be judged from present proofs, it would appear that, during the continuance of the decree giving effect to the forced currency, but few, if any, gold or silver coins were fabricated at either the Delhi or Doulatibad mints; and that as its introduction had been attended by a discontinuance of the use of precious metals, so the withdrawal of the ordinance is simultaneously marked, by a reappearance of a due proportionate amount the usual circulating medium.

97.—Brass. 139 grs. V.C. Delhi, 731 A.H.

Obv.—Similar legend to No. 96.

R.—*Area*, legend as above, No. 96.

Marg.—در تخت گاد دہلی سال - - هفت سد سی یک۔

98.—Brass. R. Delhi, 732 A.H.¹⁷

Similar to No. 97, with هشت سد سی دو

¹⁶ There is one silver coin, and one only, in the present collection, similar in type to No. 94, but of very debased metal; the date on which may possibly be read 731. The inscription is imperfectly executed, and the word *احد* if such it be, is so peculiarly formed that it can scarcely be relied on as representing that number.

¹⁷ Many specimens of the coins described under Nos. 96, 97, 98, bear very distinct signs of being the production of dies other than those in use at the royal mints, and are probably some of the forgeries alluded to in the extract from the *Tubkut Akhberi*.

99.—Brass. 138 grs. V.R. Doulutábád, 732 A.H. B.M.¹⁸

مهر شد سکه پنجاد کانی در روزگار بنداد امیدوار محمد.—
Struck as a piece of fifty kánís,¹⁹ in the time of the
servant, hopeful (of divine mercy), Mohammed Tughlak.

R.—Area, as No. 96.

Marg.—در تخت نگاد دولت اباد سال و—

100.—Brass. 112 grs. V.C.

Obv.—vr. من اطاع السلطان محمد

He who obeys the king, Mohammed, 730—

R.—فقد اطاع الرحمن تغلق—

Truly he obeys the Merciful, Tughlak.

101.—Brass. 112 grs. C. Date 730.

Obv.—vr. اطِّيعُوا الله وَاطِّيعُوا الرَّسُول وَأوْلَى الْأَئِمَّةِ مِنْكُمْ محمد

Obey God, and obey the Prophet, and those (who are) in
authority among you (4th chap. Korán), Mohammed, 730.

R.—لا يُؤْلَمُ السُّلْطَانُ كُلُّ النَّاسِ بِعِظَمَتِهِ بَعْضًا تغلق

Sovereignty is not conferred upon every man, (but) some
(are placed over) others, Tughlak.

102.—Brass. 66 grs. C.

Obv.—vr. محمد بن تغلق

R.—vr. صَرْبُ الْرَّبِيعِي

103.—Brass. 55 grs. C.

Obv.—vr. عبد محمد بن تغلق

R.—vr. حَسَبِيَّ رَبِّي

¹⁸ The value of the pretended exactitude of Ferishtah's dates is somewhat shaken by the coins Nos. 96 and 99. The former of which proves most obviously that Deogir had become the *royal city* of *Doulutábád* in the year 730, whereas Ferishtah expressly assigns this intitulation to the year 739. See Briggs and Dow, A.H. 739.

¹⁹ Kání, probably the "jetul" of Ferishtah, see ante, page 175.

104.—Brass. 74 grs. U.

Obo.—(زَرْ جَائِزٌ دُرْ عَهْدٌ (بَنْدَهُ اَمِيدَوَارُ؟)—²⁰

R.—Centre محمد تغلق

Marg.—श्रीः मोहमद्²¹

105.—Brass. 84 grs. V.R.

Obo.—ضرب الدرهم الشرعي في زعن العبد محمد بن تغلق—²²

Struck (as) a legal dirhem, in the time of the servant Mohammed bin Tughlak.

R.—بَدْارِ الْإِسْلَامِ فِي سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِينَ وَ سَبْعِمِائَةٍ

At the seat of Islámism, in the year 730.

106.—Brass. 82 grs. R.

Obo. as No. 106.

R.—بَخْرَدْ دَهْلِي فِي سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِينَ وَ سَبْعِمِائَةٍ At the capital, Delhi, in the year 730.

107.—Copper. 53 grs. V.R.

Obo.—الْمَلْكُ وَ الْبَرَزَادُ لِلَّهِ Dominion and glory are of God.

R.—Centre محمد تغلق

Marg.—دو - هفتصد سی سال 732.

²⁰ The second letter of زَرْ has been restored. The word زَرْ assuming it to be such, seems to have been used in this instance in its generic sense of money, rather than in its distinguishing meaning of gold: the brass representatives of the gold dinárs have yet to be brought to light.

²¹ The o in Mohanad is expressed in what is now known as the Bengali form of that vowel.

²² The ش in الشرعي is assumed from other and clearer specimens of the coin than that which appears in the plate, which has been selected for the engraver, from its affording a more general outline of the whole legend than other pieces of the same class.

108.—Copper. 68 grs.

Obv. السُّلْطَان ظَلَّ اللَّهُ The sultan, shadow of God.

R. محمد بن تغلشاد— Mohammed bin Tuglak Shâh.

109.—Silver and copper mixed. 132 grs. U.

Obv. الْأَمَام الْأَعْظَم خَلِيفَةَ اللَّهِ—

R.—Centre المستكفي بالله امير المؤمنين

Marg. illegible.

110.—Copper. 128 grs. R. 748 A.H.

Obv.—٧٤٨ سنة الحاكم باسم الله

R.— ابو العباس احمد

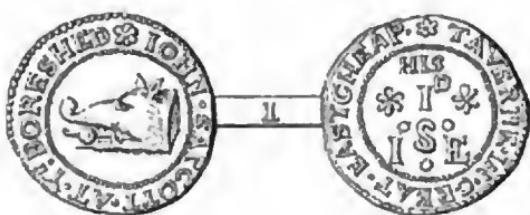
111.—Brass. 55 grs. V.R.

Legend and date similar to No. 109.

V.

EXAMPLES OF LONDON COFFEE-HOUSE, TAVERN,
AND TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.

SECOND SERIES.



1. *Ov.*—JOHN SAPCOTT AT Y^E BORES HED. A boar's head dressed with a lemon in its mouth.

R.—TAVERNE IN GREAT EASTCHEAP. In the centre, HIS I. E. S. (*Mr. Huxtable*).

THE benevolent reader was perchance well nigh wearied of our first series of notes on Tradesmen's and Tavern Tokens, when we haply brought him on those of "the Mermayd," and "the Bore's Hed," and left him in a pleasant reverie of the palmy days of Great Eastcheap; not of the days described by rhyming Lydgate, when "the cookes cried hot ribbes of beefe rosted, pies well baked, and other victuals," to the clattering of pewter pots, and the sounds of "harpe, pipe and sawtrie, yea by cocke, nay by cocke, for greater oaths were spared,"—but of later times, when the mad prince broke fat Sir John's head "for likening his father to a singing man of Windsor," and picked his pocket while "fast asleep behind the arras, and snorting

like a horse." And lo, here is another, and a far finer token of that renowned above all taverns ancient or modern,¹ but issued by a different landlord,² for John Sapcott is the name of mine host of the *penny* token.³ That of the smaller denomination bears a boar's head, with a true heraldic grin; but this displays the same object under a more inviting aspect, appealing irresistibly "aux gourmands."⁴

We believe a city antiquary has for some years past been engaged in collecting materials for a history of the "Bore's Hed in Eastcheape." If, in the course of his researches, he has not happened on the above token, we offer him a representation of it in furtherance of his object.

1. *Obv.—ROBERT HAYES AT Y^E COFFE.* A turbaned bust, full faced.

R.—HOVSE IN PANIER ALLEY. In the field HIS HALFPENY in three lines across the field.

2. *Obv.—ROBERT HAYES AT Y^E COFFE HOVS.* A turbaned head as on the preceding.

R.—In Barbican, formerly in Pannier Ally, in four lines across the field.

¹ For the drawing of this, and the tokens in the accompanying plates, we are indebted to the kindness of Mr. B. Nightingale, who has also favoured us with several illustrative notes of the localities in which the different pieces circulated.

² The initials on the farthing token are, I. I. B.

³ These tokens of a larger denomination appear to have been of a later issue than those representing the farthing and halfpenny. They are generally without date, and their appearance must have called imperatively for the reformation of the coinage, and the suppression of such a spurious currency. Had this not taken place, the curious would doubtless have in their cabinets examples of silver coins, struck by London Tradesmen.

⁴ It seems probable that the Boar's head was originally a cook's shop, in the days of Lydgate, and one of those in which "hot ribbes of beef rosted, and pies well baked," were dispensed with other creature comforts.

As these notes may fall into the hands of those who know but little of London topography, it may be as well to mention that Pannier Alley, originally so called from a shop at the corner bearing the sign of a pannier, is a narrow court, running from the extreme east end of Newgate-street, into Paternoster-row, just opposite Saint Martin's le Grand. Should the curious reader ever visit the locality, and the day happen to be fine, he may, in the penumbra of this court, espy a small sculptured stone in the wall beneath the baker's shop window, on which is the figure of a naked boy, seated on a roll of tobacco, and the inscription :

WHEN Y^E HAVE SOUGHT
THE CITTIE ROUND
YET STILL THIS IS
THE HIGHS^T GROUNDE
AVGVST THE 27
1688.

Robert Hayes appears to have made his tokens serve the purpose of an advertisement, giving notice of his removal to Barbican, where he sometimes perhaps refreshed the Finsbury archer or the train band captains after a field day. His second coinage is a great improvement upon his first, being of neater and more careful execution.

3. *Olv.—NICHOLAS ROYS AT Y^E BLACK. A Dog.*

R.—DOGG NEARE NEWGATE. In the field, HIS HALFPENNY TOKEN.

In Philip Henslow's diary, recently published by the Shakspere Society, there are notices of "payments on account," to Day, Smith and Hathaway, for a play called "The Black Dog of Newgate," which they either wrote or were to have written. In Hibbert's catalogue of rare books sold in 1829 is "A Discovery of a London Monster, called the Black Dog of Newgate. Printed by G. Eld, for Rob.

Wilson, 1612." The author is supposed to have been Luke Hutton.⁵ The tavern called "the Black Dog" was much frequented by literary men; and in the work in question, are stanzas entitled "Certaine Fearful Visions appearing to the Author of this Booke," which are supposed to have been written here.

4. *Obr.*—AT Y^E COFFE HOVSSE AGAINST. In the centre, HENRY MUSCVT, and a hand holding a cup of coffee.

R.—BROOK HOVSSE IN HOLBORN. IIIS HALFPENNY. H.E.M. in seven lines across the field.

(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

Brook House was once the residence of the earls of Warwick, and stood on the site of the present Brook-street, near Furnival's Inn; so that Muscut's coffee-house must have been on the opposite side of Holborn, near the gateway of Staples Inn. The fanciful and somewhat inconvenient shape of his token, was adopted by others at this period, probably to attract notice.

5. *Obr.*—ANTHONY POOLE, IRONMONGR (sic). A horse's head couped, and bridled.

R.—IN FOSTER LANE, 1688. In the centre, IIIS HALFE PENY, in three lines across the field.

Was this the original shop in Foster-lane, now known as "Knight's," where the chemist and the geologist repair for *materiel* in their respective sciences? Foster-lane once flanked the great sanctuary of St. Martin, but nearly one half of it has been destroyed to make room for the New Post Office.

⁵ The book is of extreme rarity, and at the sale in question brought 5*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

6. *Obv.—CHARLES KIFFELL.* A hand issuing from the clouds, pouring from a coffee-pot into a cup.

R.—AT THE COFFEE HOUSE. In the field, IN CHEAPSIDE, 1669. (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

Another example of the tokens issued by Coffee House Keepers, and bearing a later date.

7. *Obv.—FRANCIS HARRIS BAKER.* In the field, a sheaf of corn.

R.—AT PYE CORNER, HIS $\frac{1}{2}$ PENNY. In the field, two flowers, the stalk joined in a true-lover's knot, between the letters, F. M. H.

The great fire of London began at the house of a baker, named Farriner, in "Pudding Lane," and ended at "Pye Corner," whence the Puritans of the day attributed that great calamity to "the detestable sin of gluttony," an absurdity recorded on the bloated figure of a boy against the wall of a house at the entrance of Smithfield.

Pye Corner seems to have received its designation from the trade which thrived in that neighbourhood. Robin Conscience in his ballad, finding that his name offended the traders in various parts of London, came hither.

"Thus chid of them, my way I took
Unto Pye Corner, where a cook
Glanced at me as the devil would look
O'er Lincoln."

By which we are led to suspect, that the cook either dispensed short weight, or viands of apocryphal character.

8. *Obv.—AT THE ROSE TAVERN.* In the centre, a full-blown rose.

R.—IN COVEN GARDEN. In the centre, the letters, W.M.L. (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

The Rose Tavern stood in Brydges-street, Covent

Garden, adjoining the theatre. It was the resort of the wits and literati of Charles the Second's time, and is frequently referred to in the writings of the period. It was sometimes called "Long's," being kept by a person of that name. This is partly confirmed by the initial L on the token and indeed by the next specimen.

9. *Obv.—MARY LONG IN RVSSELL.* A full-blown rose on the stalk:

R.—STREET COVENT GARDEN. In the field *HIS HALFE PENNY. M.L.* (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

This token gives us the name of the person who issued it, who, probably, from the cognisance being the same, was a member of the family of, if not the proprietor of the Rose Tavern: or it might be his widow, unequal as a "lone woman" to the duties of hostess of a bustling house of resort: or, peradventure, mine host was found after his death to be insolvent, and the goodwill of the tavern was put up to auction. But we undertook to describe, and not to conjecture.

10. *Obv.—THE EXCHANGE TAVERN.* A view of the interior of the quadrangle of the Royal Exchange.

R.—IN THE POVLTREY, 1668. In the field, *HIS HALF PENY.* (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

This token was struck two years after the great fire, which destroyed the original building called the Royal Exchange. The view on the reverse of this example is of the new structure, which was destroyed in 1838.

11. *Obv.—ED. OLDHAM AT Y^E HERCVLES.* A crowned male figure standing erect, and grasping a pillar with each hand.

R.—PILLERS IN FLEET STREET. In the field, *HIS HALFE PENNY, E. P. O.*

In our former paper, we described a token issued by a tradesman in Hercules Pillars Alley.⁶ From this example, it would seem that this locality, like other places in London, took its name from the tavern. The mode of representing the pillars of Hercules is somewhat novel; and but for the inscription, we should have supposed the figure to represent Sampson clutching the pillars of the temple of Dagon.

12. *Obv.—AT Y^E MITER TAVERN.* A mitre.

R.—IN WESTMINSTER, 57. In the field, R. I. P.

This well-known tavern stood in Union-street, Westminster, and was removed in the year 1807, when the improvements were made in that neighbourhood.

13. *Obv.—John Eldridge at Billingsgate.* In four lines across the field.

R.—HIS HALF PENY. A rampant lion, and a still (octagonal).

14. *Obv.—A PENNY.* A tilt-boat, with rowers, passengers, and a steersman.

R.—JOHN MICHELL, LIVING AT LITTLE SOMERS KEY NEAR BILLINGSGATE. In seven lines across the field (octagonal). (Mr. Nightingale.)

Little Somers Quay was removed when the present Custom House in Thames-street was built. The boat represented on this token was doubtless one of those which in those days plied between London and Gravesend—a voyage sometimes of three or four days in adverse weather! There is a tract of this period professing to give an account of a “Tongue Combat in the Tilt-boat from Gravesend,” etc., between two individuals of opposite politics.

* Num. Chron., Vol. IX., p. 57, Plate 3, No. 25.

15. *Obv.*—RICHARD BLAKE TAPSTER. Full-faced bust, probably intended for that of James the First.

R.—IN SOVTHWARK 1669. In the field HIS HALF PENY, and R.F.B.

Who Richard Blake was, history says not. Southwark, as one of the principal entrances to the city of London, abounded in taverns and alehouses. The latter, about this period, had a very bad reputation, if we may credit Robin Conscience.

“ Then I, being sore athirst, did go
Into an alehouse in the row,
Meaning a penny to bestow
On strong beer;”

Robin asks for a quart, but the hostess is indignant, and after abusing him, says :—

“ Instead of a quart pot of pewter,
I fill small jugs, and need no tutor;
I quart’ridge give to the geometer
Most duly;

And he will see, and yet be blind;
A knave made much of will be kind,
If you be one, Sir, tell your mind
Most truly.”

Robin spurns this overture, goes on his way, and finds knavery in the ascendant everywhere.

16. *Obv.*—WILLIAM PAGET, AT THE. A mitre.

R.—MITRE IN FLEET STREET. In the field, w. e. r.
(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

The Mitre still flourishes in Mitre-court, Fleet-street, nearly “over against” Fetter-lane, and like most houses in the vicinity of the inns of court, can boast of good fare. It was once the resort of men known to literature and science; amongst others, of Johnson and his follower and admirer, Boswell. In that amusing volume, “The

Gold-headed Cane," by the late Dr. Macmichael, the following passage occurs: Dr. Radcliff, *loquitur* :—

"I never recollect to have spent a more delightful evening, than that at the Mitre Tavern, in Fleet-street, "where my good friend Billy Nutly, who was indeed the "better half of me, had been prevailed upon to accept of a "small temporary assistance, and joined our party, the "Earl of Denbigh, Lords Colepeper and Stowel, and "Mr. Blackmore."

17. *Obv.—WITHIN BISHOP GATE.* The crowned bust of Charles the First to the left.

R.—THE KINGS HED TAVERN. In the field, G.M.W.

The polities of mine host of the "Kings Hed," are pretty manifest from the device and style of this token, the bust of which is copied from some of the very neat small silver coins executed by Briot.

18. THE FRIEN PAN, IN BEL. A frying-pan.

R.—YARD, BY POWLS WHARP. In the field, D. I. T.

We are unable to tell the reader any thing of the "frien pan," or even to give the name of the worthy who traded beneath it. He was probably a dealer in ironmongery.

19. *Obv.—APOTHECARY.* In the field, CAM. in monogram.

R.—SNOW HILL. The figure of a cock standing on a spire.

The cock is here chosen as the device of an apothecary, the bird being sacred to *Æsculapius*.

20. *Obv.—JOHN CLAY, WOODMONGER.* A horse and cart.

R.—IN WHITE FRYARS, 1667. In the centre, HIS HALF PENNY.
(*Mr. Huxtable.*)

When this token circulated in White Friars, it had a reputation which Shadwell has preserved in his "Squire of Alsatia," and Scott in one of his most interesting fictions.

21. *Obv.*—SIMON BOND, AT THE. In the centre, GREEN HOVE.

R.—IN LITTLE MOOR FELDS. In the centre, S.A.B. 1666.
(*Mr. Huxtable.*)

22. *Obv.*—RICHARD RICH IN LITEL. A bird perched on the top of a sheaf of corn.

R.—DRVRY LANE CHANGER. In the centre, OF FARTHINGS.
(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

The issuer of this token styles himself a "changer of farthings," obviously the exchange of tokens of this description for authorised currency, charging no doubt a brokerage or commission on the transaction. The profits of such a business, must, however, have been very small, and was perhaps joined to some trade. By the device of our κολλυβιστης—the wheatsheaf and bird,—he appears to have been either a baker or a coruchandler.

23. *Obv.*—JAMES GRIGNELL IN. A horse shoe.

R.—THE PARK SOUTHWARK. In the field, HIS HALFPENNY.
(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

The locality mentioned on this token, formed part of the domain of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, the favourite of Henry the Eighth. His mansion stood nearly opposite the spot where the present St. George's Church stands, and was surrounded by a small park and ornamental gardens. After the death of the duke, the property reverted to the king, who established a mint there. The neighbourhood is still known as "the Mint," and has enjoyed for a long time a very equivocal reputation. In the days of our

grandfathers, it was the lurking-place of all the idle and profligate on the Surrey side of the Thames, and in the present day has not quite lost its character. The neighbouring thoroughfares known as Suffolk-street, Park-street, etc., preserve the memory of the duke's mansion.

24. *Obr.*—THO. WHITE AT Y^E BLACKMORES. Bust of a negro to the right; across the field, HIS OB.

R.—HEAD IN WEST SMITHFIELD. In the field, T. E. W.
(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

This token is remarkable and peculiar, from the circumstance of the owner designating it his *obolus*. We cannot say how far the devices and inscriptions of these tokens were directed by the actual issuers, and have therefore no means of ascertaining if this less vulgar designation was the adoption of the master of the Blackamore's Head, or of the engraver of the die.

25. *Obr.*—JOHN THOMLINSON AT THE. An archer fitting an arrow to his bow; a small figure behind holding an arrow.

R.—IN CHISWELL STREET, 1667. In the centre, HIS HALFE PENNY, and I. S. T. (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

It is easy to perceive what is intended by the representation on the obverse of this token. Though "Little John," we are told, stood upwards of six good English feet without his shoes, he is here depicted to suit the popular humour—a dwarf in size compared with his friend and leader, the bold outlaw. The proximity of Chiswell-street to Finsbury fields, may have led to the adoption of the sign, which was doubtless at a time when archery was considered an elegant as well as indispensable accomplishment of an English gentleman. It is far from obsolete now, as several

low public houses and beer-shops in the vicinity of London testify. One of them exhibits Robin Hood and his companion dressed in the most approved style of "Ashley's," and underneath the group is the following irresistible invitation to slake your thirst.

" Ye archers bold and yeomen good,
Stop and drink with Robin Hood :
If Robin Hood is not at home,
Stop and drink with Little John."

Our London readers could doubtless supply the variorum copies of this elegant distich, which, as this is an age for "Family Shakspers," modernised Chaucers, and new versions of "Robin Hood's Garland," we recommend to the notice of the next editor of the ballads in praise of the Sherwood Freebooter.

26. *Obv.—JAMES FARR, 1666. A rainbow.*

R.—IN FLEET STREET. In the centre, HIS HALF PENY.
(*Mr. Price*).

It is well known that James Farr kept the Rainbow in Fleet-street, at the time of the great fire, the very year of which is marked on this token; or some might be disposed to question the propriety of our designating the unetherial object on the obverse, a *rainbow*.

27. *Obv.—QVEENE HEAD TAVERNE. Full-faced bust of Queen Elizabeth.*

R.—AT HOLBORNE COVNDID. In the field, E. E. H. (*Mr. Price*).

This locality is mentioned by several authors as the resort of pawnbrokers and usurers. An old satirical poem,

printed in 1611, under the title “The Letting of Humour’s Blood in the Head-Veine,” has the following topographical allusions.

“ Oh Sir, why that’s as true as you are heere :
 With one example I will make it cleere ;
 And far to fetch the same I will not goe,
 But unto Houndsditch, to the Brokers’ Row ;
 Or any place where that trade doth remaine,
 Whether at *Holborne Conduit*, or *Long Lane*.”

28. *Obr.*—THE CROS SHVFLS. Two shovels saltier-wise.
 R.—IN BOW STREETE, 1653. In the field, u. b. s.

This token is without the name or calling of the issuer, by which we may infer that it was a public house, frequented, as the sign would seem to indicate, by the labouring classes.

29. *Obr.*—THE MERMAYD TAVERN. A mermaid with the usual attributes.
 R.—IN BOWE LANE, 1652. In the field, i. a. p. (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

In a former paper we gave a token of *y^e MEARMAYD TAVERN, CHEAPSIDE*,⁷ which we assumed was the renowned “Mermaid in Chepe,” and supposed that there was a back entrance to this tavern from Friday-street. Should our conjecture be well founded, we are strangely puzzled with the above token, which belongs to the Mermaid in *Bow Lane*, and can have nothing to do with the celebrated Tavern of that name. Did the fame of the Mermayd give rise to the several other similar signs which we know by tokens were in vogue at this time⁸ ?

⁷ Num. Chron. Vol. IX. p. 65.

⁸ Every one knows that “*the Old Bear*,” in Piccadilly, had his imitators, until Bruin’s effigy at length appeared on a board nearly life-size, holding in his mouth a label inscribed, *I am the original!*

30. *Obv.—THE WOODNONGRS ARM, (sic).* A crown, placed on the point of a sword, between two bundles or faggots of wood.

R.—AT PICKLE HIRNE STARS. In the field, R. A. G.

The vitiated orthography of this token, *pickle hirne*, for pickle herring, is an imitation of the vulgar pronunciation of the word. These tokens furnish abundant evidence of the *ad libitum* mode of spelling in those days, and prove that it prevailed among those who were not entirely destitute of education. To the uninitiated we may add, that Pickle Herring Stairs is a landing-place on the river-side, near Tooley-street, Southwark.

31. *Obv.—PELHAM MORE AT YE SONN.* A negro or blackamore's head above a figure of the sun.

R.—AND MORES HEAD AT MOREGATE, *the last three letters in monogram.* In the centre, HIS HALFE PENY.

(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

The alliteration in this token shews the issuer to have been a wag, whose humour is about on a par with that of the puffing shop-keepers of our time.

32. *Obv.—ABRAHAM BROWNE, AT YE.* A bear walking to the left.

R.—BRIDO FOOT, SOWTHWARK. In the field, HIS HALF PENY. (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

The Bear at the bridge foot did not disappear until the demolition of Old London Bridge.

33. *Obv.—EDWARD MVNS AT THE SVGAR.* A sugar-loaf.

R.—LOAF ON LONDON BRIDG, 1668. In the field, HIS HALFE PENNY. (*Mr. W. Hawkins.*)

This is the only token we have met with issued by a tradesman living *on* London Bridge.

34 *Obr.*—THE KINGS HEAD TAVERN. The full-faced bust of Henry VIIth.

R.—IN OLD FISHER STREET. In the field, w. r. a.
(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

This was probably an old sign of the time of the monarch whose effigies the token appears to bear.

35. *Obr.*—THE LOBSTER AT THE. A lobster.

R.—MAIPOLE IN THE STRAND. In the field, e. g.
(*Mr. W. Hawkins.*)

The “Lobster” was probably a house of entertainment, where that delicious shell-fish was dispensed with its accompanying salad.

36. *Obr.*—AT THE HALFE MOON. A crescent.

R.—IN THE CORTE, 1648. In the field ... n. b.
(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

The date, 1648, is the earliest that occurs on this class of tokens: and it is so rare, that many persons failing to obtain a specimen, have doubted the existence of such a date on this description of money, which, by the example here given, appears scarcely to warrant the affiliation of Evelyn. That they were, however, struck as early as this year, is proved by other specimens. One of “the Seven Stars, in Cornhill,” likewise in the possession of Mr. Nightingale, is also dated 1648. “The Half Moon in the Corte,” is a peculiar style evidently implying *the court of that name*, or as the Scotch say, “of that ilk.” There are divers Half-moon courts in London. The tavern of that name in Gracechurch Street stands at the corner of Half-Moon Passage; and an inn of the same designation is in a court or passage of the same name in Bishopsgate.

We leave to the learned in London topography to fix the locality of this token.

37. *Obv.*—JOHN CLARKE AT THE MAN. A human figure standing within a crescent, and holding by the horns; above, two rolls of tobacco.

R.—IN Y^E MOON IN WAPING HIS HALF PENNY, 1668.
and the initials, I. E. C. (octangular).
(*Mr. W. Hawkins.*)

To what origin may we trace this popular sign? We do not think with Grimm, that it may be referred to the offender against the law of Moses,⁹ but are more disposed to regard it as the relic of some obscure pagan myth, not perhaps of Anglo-Saxon, but of Oriental origin. The antiquary need not be reminded, that there was worshipped in Asia Minor, a male divinity called *Myy* or the mouth, and that on the coins of Antioch we have a representation of him wearing a Phrygian cap, his head being placed within a crescent.

38. *Obv.*—WILL BRANDON AT Y^E HAVE. A man about to throw, a stick at a cock.

R.—AT IT ON DOWGATE HILL. In the field, HIS HALF PENY,
and the initials, W. M. B. (*Mr. Boyne.*)

The brutal sport of throwing at cocks at Shrove-tide, was long a reproach to our countrymen. In our boyhood we often heard of, though we were never pained by witnessing, this cruel pastime, which in Wiltshire is called "cock squoiling," but we have seen the callow brood of sparrows, and other birds used in the same way. It seems probable that the sign of the cock to these houses, was an indication that cock-throwing was one of the diversions of

⁹ Num. xv. 32.

the garden or court at the rear, just as we now see the tempting intimation, "a dry skittle ground."¹⁰

39. *Obv.—AT Y^E WILL SOMERS BACKSIDE.* A figure clad in a long gown, and wearing a hat, blowing a horn. In the field, OB.

R.—OVLD FISH STREET, 1666. In the field two flowers, the stalks uniting below in a true lover's knot, between the initials, I. M. W. (*Mr. Boyne*).

This token is curious as presenting us with the effigies of Henry the Eighth's famous jester, Will Somers, whose wit and talent and inoffensive manners made him a great favourite with that monarch and his court. He is here represented, as in the well-known print, wearing a cap and feather, and a long gown, and holding a sort of hunting horn. Our token is too small for the details of his costume; but it is no doubt intended to be exactly like that in the engraving, underneath which are the lines:—

" What though thou think'st mee clad in strange attire,
Knowe I am suted to my owne deseire ;
And yet the characters describ'd upon mee,
May shew thee that a King bestow'd them on mee ;
This Horne I have betokens Sommers game,
Which sportive tyme will bid thee reade my name :
All with my nature well agreeing too,
As both the Name, and Tyme, and Habit doe."

¹⁰ An intelligent correspondent of this journal observes — " William Brandon's token reminds me of the sports of my boyish days, when at school at Richmond, in Yorkshire. We had a game called 'Dumps,' which consisted of throwing or pitching pieces of lead cut into the shape of buttons, or counters about the size of farthings at a small leaden figure of a cock. The player gave to the owner of the cock, so many 'dumps,' for a certain number of throws, who gave to the player so many dumps if he knocked the cock over. Though we were perfectly unconscious of the origin of our game, yet there can scarcely be a doubt, that it was derived from the cruel sport of cock-throwing."

J. Y. A.

VI.

UNEDITED AUTONOMOUS AND IMPERIAL GREEK
COINS.

By H. P. BORRELL, ESQ.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 26th, 1846.]

LYCIA.

LYCIA IN GENERE.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΛΥ. Lyre; in the field, a bow and quiver, the whole in a flat sunk square. AR. 3. (*My cabinet.*)

2.—Head of Apollo, front face.

R.—ΑΥΚΙΩΝ. Bow and quiver. AE. 2. (*My cabinet.*)

3.—Same head; in the field, a lyre.

R.—ΑΥΚΙΩΝ. Female head, front face. AE. 2. (*My cabinet, and British Museum.*)

We have numerous coins of Lycia similar to the two first in the preceding list, on which are seen the initial letters of the name of a town as well as that of the province, sometimes expressed by the initials ΛΥ and sometimes in full length ΑΥΚΙΩΝ. As there are no indications of my three coins having been struck by any individual city, it would seem that there existed a separate currency, especially established with the concurrence of the united Lycian community. No province was more likely to have adopted a similar measure than that of Lycia; the people appear to have formed a regular representative government at a very early period. Each city, history informs us, sent a certain number of deputies to a general assembly. We have also a numerous series of coins struck for the province of Lycia during the Roman domination, which would lead us to infer that the system of a federal coinage was not a novelty, but merely the continuation of a more ancient usage.

ANTIPHELLOS.

No. 1.—Laureated profile of Apollo.

R.—ΑΥΚΟΝ (sic) AN. Bow and quiver, the whole in a flat sunk square. AE. 2. (*My cabinet, and British Museum.*)

There is no denying a Lycian origin to this small coin, and as there is no other locality the initials would suit, it is equally certain it may be claimed for Antiphellos. No autonomous coin of this city was previously known; and the only monument that has been published is a unique imperial coin of the emperor Gordian.¹

BALBURA.

No. 1.—Eagle standing, to the left.

R.—ΒΑΛΒΟΥΠΕΩΝ. A winged thunderbolt, the whole within a laurel garland. AE. 4. (*Cabinet of J. Whittall, Esq., of Smyrna.*)

No. 2.—ΙΑΙΟC. ΟΓΒΑCTOC. Bare head of Caligula, to the right.

R.—ΒΑΛΒΟΥΡΕΩΝ. The Lycian Hercules standing, full face and marked, a club in his right hand. AE. 4. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

Both these coins of Balbura, one an autonomous, the other an imperial, are unique.

We learn from Stephanus² and Ptolemy,³ that this city was situated in that part of Lycia which the latter denominates Carbalia, probably near the river Limyrus, and not far from the range of Taurus. Pliny⁴ confirms the statement of the latter geographer: he says, “comprehendit in Mediterraneis Cabaliam, cuius tres urbes, Οenoanda, Balbura, Bubon.” Stephanus adds, that Balbura

¹ Sestini, Lett. tom. iii. p. 89, and Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 431, No. 5.

³ Lib. v. cap. 3.

² In Βαλβουρα.

⁴ Hist. Nat. lib 5. cap. 27.

and Bubon were founded by two robbers, from whom the names were derived, “Bubon enim et Balbura sunt urbes Lyeiae, sic dictae à Balburo et Bubone. Hi verò latrones urbes condideri à sui ipsorum nomine.” Balbura with Bubon, and Onoanda with Cibyra, formed a separate government, and were collectively denominated Tetrapolis. Cibyra was the most considerable of this confederation, for which it had a double vote in the public assemblies, whilst the others had but one each. The chiefs were despotic, but their rule is said to have been extremely just and moderate. Moagetes, who was defeated by Murena, was the last of these petty sovereigns, the conqueror detached Balbura and Bubon from the tetrapolis, and united them to Lyeia.⁵

BUBON.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—BOY. Bow and quiver. AE. 2.

(*British Museum, from my collection.*)

The devices on this coin are purely Lyeian. Combined with the initial letters, they justify our claiming it for the town of Bubon, which appears for the first time in the list of numismatic cities.

As to the origin of Bubon, I refer the reader to my preceding remarks on the coins of Balbura.

CADYANDA.

No. 1.—Profile of doubtful character.

R.—ΚΑΔΥ. Three-quarter figure of Mercury, facing the left, holding the caduceus in his right hand, the whole within a sunk circle. AE. 3.

(*Cabinet of J. Whittall, Esq., of Smyrna.*)

A late traveller⁶ in Asia Minor alludes to his discovery

⁵ Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 631.

⁶ An Account of Discoveries in Lycia, by Charles Fellows, Second Excursion. London, 1841.

of an ancient city at a place called Yeddy Cappolee, which, from several inscriptions, he found to be the remains of Cadyanda. A short time after, my friend, Mr. James Whittall, procured on the same spot this interesting and unique coin, now described for the first time, which further enriches the numismatic geography of Lyeia.

The extent of the ruins, the numerous tombs and other monuments, and the beauty of the sculpture which still exist at Cadyanda, is sufficient proof of its ancient importance : it is therefore the more remarkable, that it is unmentioned by geographers. Is it preferable to suppose that it really has escaped the notice of ancient writers; or rather, that we have it under a form of orthography so corrupt as to prevent its recognition?

The fabric of this coin is rather barbarous, and it is besides badly struck; but fortunately the legend is clear and perfect, which connected with the locality where it was found, and the inscriptions cited by Mr. Fellows, its classification to Cadyanda must be perfectly satisfactory.

CYANAE.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΑΥΚΙΩΝ. KY. Lyre, in the field an uncertain symbol, the whole in a flat sunk square. AR. 3. 43 grs.
(*My cabinet.*)

This coin is somewhat different from that published by Combe⁷ under Cydna, which Sestini and Millingen⁸ have justly restored to Cyaneae.

No. 2.—Head of Pallas, to the right.

R.—ΚΤΗΓΟΣ. A sword ; in the field, bucranium, and KYA (the two last letters in a monogram). AR. 2. 17½ grs.
(*My cabinet.*)

⁷ Mus. Hunt. p. 19. tab. xxii. fig. 21.

⁸ Sestini Lett. tom. ii. p. 77, and Millingen Rec. de quelques Méd. Inéd. p. 67.

Millingen⁹ has published another coin similar in types, but with a different magistrate's name, which he classes to Calynda, in Caria; but I cannot accept his reading of the monogram, AAY. A close examination will, in my opinion, convince the reader that my explanation is preferable.

No. 3.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—KYA (the two last letters in a monogram); a sword; the whole in a flat sunk square. AE. 2.
(*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

This coin illustrates the preceding, and goes far to prove the Lycian origin of both; the fabric and general character being decidedly Lycian.

No. 4.—Male head, with fillet and spike in front, to the right.

R.—KYA (the two last letters in a monogram) and INΩ. Naked figure standing, with a fillet around his head, in front of which is a spike, and holding the hasta transversely in his left hand. AE. 3. (*My cabinet.*)

No. 5.—Head as the preceding.

R.—KYA (the two last letters in a monogram). Cornucopia. AE. 2. (*My cabinet.*)

No. 6.—Head as last.

R.—KYA (the two last letters in a monogram). Sword. AE. 1½.

All these coins undoubtedly belong to the same place, and they came at different times from Lycia. Millingen says, the sword is a frequent Carian type; but it is equally suited to Lycia, as it was a weapon in the use of which the Lycians excelled. In fact, in Belves' translation of Herodotus, there is the following note. Speaking of the Termilians, or Lycians, he says: "They are sometimes called

⁹ *Sylloge of Ancient Undited Coins*, p. 72. tab. ii. No. 46.

Telmissi, I believe they both mean the same thing, both names relating to the kind of armour in use amongst them; the first denoting the short sword or poinard, the last the quiver and arrows, for which the Cretans¹⁰ were famous; and both which Herodotus appropriates to the Lycians in book the seventh.

LIMYRA.

- No. 1.—Head of Diana, to the right, quiver over her shoulder.
 R.—ΛΥΚΙΩΝ. ΛΙ. Bow and quiver, the whole in a flat sunk square. $\text{AE. } 2.$ (*My cabinet.*)
- No. 2.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.
 R.—ΛΙ. A winged thunderbolt. $\text{AE. } 2.$
 (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

Only silver coins of this city are published, which are of extreme rarity: in copper none have been previously noticed.

The types on No. 1 are such as occur on the smaller money of many other Lycian cities, the winged thunderbolt on No. 2 is observed as an adjunct on a silver coin of Limyra, cited by Mionnet,¹¹ from the cabinet of M. de Hermand; and it occurs again as the principal type upon a unique coin of Balbura described in this notice.

Limyra was situated in Lycia, about twenty stades distant from the eastern bank of a small river of the same name, Velleius Paterculus¹² mentions it as the place where Caius Cæsar died.

'MYRA.

- No. 1.—Helmeted head of Pallas, to the right.
 R.—ΜΥ. Head of Diana, full face, a quiver over her shoulder. $\text{AE } 2\frac{1}{2}. 27\frac{1}{2} \text{ grs.}$
 (*My cabinet, and Bank of England.*)

¹⁰ The Lycians were descendants of the Cretans (see Pausanias, lib. vii. cap. 3). ¹¹ Tom. iii. p. 435 and 436, No. 27.

¹² Hist. Rom. lib. ii. cap. 102.

Four examples of this coin have been in my possession at different times ; and, as I have noticed, they were all brought from the Lycian coast, or from the island of Rhodes. I have ventured to assign them to Myra : otherwise they might be supposed to belong to Myrina, in Aeolis, or to some other city using similar initials. Diana was a favourite deity of the Lycian nation ; so was Apollo : but Pallas is less frequently seen on the coins of this province.

No. 2.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΛΥΚΙΩΝ. Bow and quiver, in the field MY ; the whole in a flat sunk square. $\text{AE. } 2.$ (*My cabinet.*)

These types, as I have already remarked, seem to have been used in common on the smaller money of the Lycians.

PODALIA.

No. 1.—Veiled female head, to the right.

R.—ΙΙΟ. In a monogram, bow and quiver. $\text{AE. } 1\frac{1}{2}.$
(*Bank of England, from my cabinet.*)

The devices on the reverse of this small coin, conjointly with the monogram, dispose me to assign it to Podalia, of which only another autonomous coin has reached us.¹³

The ecclesiastical notices and Ptolemy¹⁴ place Podalia in Lycia, Stephanus in Lydia, and the council of Constantinople in Pisidia. The Lycian symbols on the money lead to the supposition that the two latter authorities are incorrect.

¹³ Sestini. Lett. Num. Cont. tom. iii. p. 89. Mionnet, Suppt. tom. vii. p. 22. No. 88.

¹⁴ Lib. v. cap. 3.

TELMESSUS AND CRAGUS.

No. 1.—ΔΥ. Profile of Diana, to the right.

R.—ΤΕΛ. K.P. Stag standing, to the right. Æ. 4.
(*My cabinet.*)

Here we have a unique coin, seeming by its legend to record an alliance between two Lycian cities, Telmessus and Cragus.¹⁵ Of the first, Telmessus, we have hitherto no certain numismatic remains. There were three cities of Asia Minor, named Telmessus, one in Lycia, a second in Caria, and the third, more often called *Termessus*, in Persia. Of the Carian Telmessus (or *Telmessus*, for the coins read ΤΕΛΕΜΕΣΣΕΩΝ), Sestini was the first to give publicity to a very remarkable coin,¹⁶ but it will now become a question, if that coin is not rather Lycian than Carian, as the Carian Telmessus appears to have been a place of small importance. At all events, my coin which bears the initials of Telmessus connected with those of Cragus, may safely be presumed to refer to the Lycian city, and probably even struck there, as it takes the precedence over that of Cragus. In this case, we have a new city to enrich our numismatic geography of Lycia.

On the earlier money, when it assumed the Greek character, Apollo and his attributes appear to have been the more general devices adopted by the people of Lycia; those which refer to Diana are, judging from their appear-

¹⁵ I find Sestini has published a coin exactly similar as to type, as this of mine, but with ΤΛΩ. K.P. denoting an alliance between Illos and Cragus. See Deserit. dell. Med. Ant. del. Mus. Hederv. tom. ii. p. 253, No. 2, tab. xxi. fig. 13, and Mionnet, Suppt. vii. p. 23, No. 92.

¹⁶ Lett. Num. Cont. tom. iii. p. 81. Mionnet, Suppt. vi. p. 551, No. 532.

anee, of a later period ; and of both we have numerous examples.

Returning to the question of Sestini's coin of Telmessus before alluded to, although I state it with regret, as it would be more agreeable to have two cities than one, yet the truth must be told, even if it should militate against a favorite theory. I, therefore, must record a fact, that a second example of Sestini's coin is now in possession of one of my friends, who procured it himself in the interior of Lycia, with others, all Lycian coins. This evidence, however, abstractedly considered, may be still insufficient to disturb Sestini's classification, as Lycia and Caria are bordering provinces; but as it was the Lycian Telmessus which was on the frontier of Caria, and not that of Caria which approached Lyeia, I confess, as regards myself, the evidence is weighty.

TITYASSA.

Mionnet,¹⁷ for what motive I cannot conceive, assigns a coin of the Emperor Geta to a city of Tityassa, in Lyeia, of which no geographer to my knowledge has made any mention. He again¹⁸ describes the same coin under Tityassa, in Pisidia, from Sestini,¹⁹ which is its proper place. Tityassa, in *Lycia*, must consequently be erased from our list of numismatic cities.

TLOS.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΑΥΓΚΙΩΝ ΤΔ. A lyre; in the field, a small helmet; the whole in a flat sunk square. AR. 3. 45 grs.
(*Bank of England, from my cabinet.*)

¹⁷ Suppt. vii. p. 22, No. 89. ¹⁸ Loc. cit. p. 142, No. 243.

¹⁹ Let. Num. Contin. tom. iii. p. 142.

The helmet, as an adjunct on the reverse of this rare coin, distinguishes it from another given by Sestini.

2.—ΑΥ. Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΤΔ. A sword, the whole in a flat sunk square. $\text{AE. } 1\frac{1}{2}$. (*My cabinet.*)

3.—Head as last.

R.—ΔΥΚΙ. ΤΔ. Bow and quiver, the whole in a flat sunk square. $\text{AE. } 1\frac{1}{2}$. (*My cabinet.*)

The sword has been already noticed as an appropriate Lycian symbol, where it occurs on the coins of Cyaneæ.

4.—ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC. ΖΕB. Laureated bust of Gordianus Pius, to the right.

R.—ΤΛΩΕΩΝ. Victory passing, a palm branch in one hand, and a garland in the other. $\text{AE. } 9$. (*Cabinet of J. Whittall, Esq., of Smyrna.*)

Only another imperial coin besides the present is known of Tlos; it is also of Gordian, and marked by Miouillet as unique.

TREBENNA.²⁰

No. 2.—ΑΥ. ΚΑΙ. ΜΑΡ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC. Laureated head of Gordianus Pius, to the right.

R.—ΤΡΕΒΕΝΝΑΤΩΝ. Jupiter *Aetophorus*, sitting to the right. $\text{AE. } 10$. (*Bank of England, from my cabinet.*)

Amongst the towns enumerated by Ptolemy around Mount Massicytes, in Lycia, is one which in some of the editions of that geographer is written Trebenda, and in others Arienda, probably the same as the Trebendæ of the

²⁰ This unique medallion is classed in the collection of coins, which I ceded to the Bank of England in 1826, as uncertain of Phrygia. It was brought from Maeri, the ancient Telmessus. 1

Ecclesiastical Notices, all of which Col. Leake²⁰ suggests may be so many corrupt readings for Arycanda. I presume that my unique medallion may belong to this town: it is in that case important, insomuch that it shows, not only the true orthography to be Trebenna, but at the same time, that Leake is in error, who would confound it with Arycanda, a town of which we have some well-authenticated coins.

There is a small copper coin described in Sestini,²¹ as follows:—

2.—Laureated head of Apollo.

R.—ΛΥΚΙΩΝ. TP. Bow and quiver.

which he classes to a town called Trabala, only mentioned by Stephanus. I am disposed to consider this autonomous coin also to belong to Trebenna.

The younger Gordian, whose effigy appears upon this fine medallion, seems to have been a great patron of the Lycians: his head predominates on the few imperial coins of the province. In most cases it occurs exclusively of any other.

PAMPHYLIA.

PERGA.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Diana, to the right, a quiver over her shoulder.

R.—ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ. ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑΣ. Diana standing, a garland in her right hand, the hasta in her left; near her, is a stag looking upwards; in the field, a small figure of a sphinx. A.R. 9. 257⁺_{TU} grs.

²⁰ Travels in Asia Minor.

²¹ Lett. tom. iii. p. 90, and Mionnet Suppt. vii. p. 24.

This beautiful tetradrachm passed from my collection into that of J. R. Steuart, Esq., and is now in the British Museum. It differs from those already published, by the adjunct symbol of the sphinx in the field.²²

POGLA.

No. 1.—ΑΥ. :::::ΑΔΠΙΑΝΟC. Laureated head of Hadrian, to the right.

R.—ΠΩΓΛΕΩΝ. The Pergaian Diana standing, bow in left hand, and drawing an arrow from a quiver suspended over her shoulder, with her right. Έ. 4½. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

2.—:::::ΔΟΜΝΑ. Head of Julia Domna, to the right.

R.—ΠΩΓΛΑ. Cone-shaped stone. Έ. 6. (*My cabinet.*)

Pogla is mentioned by Ptolemy, and the Ecclesiastical Notices. The former places it in that part of Pamphylia called Carbalia, between Cretopolis and Mendemium.

The coins of Pogla are of the greatest rarity, and were unknown to Eckhel. One of Geta, was first published by Mionnet,²³ from the Allier collection,²⁴ but his description of it is incorrect: instead of Apollo, the type exhibits the Diana Pergææ, as on my coin of Hadrian. Another, of Trajan Decius, is published by Sestini.²⁵

The cone-shaped stone on the reverse of my No. 2, is frequently seen on the coins of other cities, both of Pamphylia and of Pisidia: it is the most ancient form under which the famous Diana of Perga was worshipped.

²² The sphinx occurs on a brass coin of Perga, as a principal type.

²³ Tom. iii. p. 470, No. 135.

²⁴ Cf. Dumersan, *Descript. des Méd. Ant. du Cab. Allier.*

²⁵ Descr. del Med. Ant. Gr. del Mus. Hederv. tom. ii. p. 259, No. 1. In add. Tab. v. fig. 11, and Mionnet, Suppt. tom. vii. p. 62.

PISIDIA.

ADADA.

Haym²⁶ has published a coin of Adada, of Valerian and Gallienus, of the medallion size, which Mionnet²⁷ considers to be a false attribution. I can, however, vouch for the authenticity and the correct reading of Haym's coin, as a fine specimen came into my possession from Adalia, a few years ago.

ANDEDAA.

See my remarks on two coins of this city, erroneously classed to Perga, by Mionnet and others, in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1.

ANTIOCHIA.

No. 1.—ANTIOCH. Bare youthful head of Mercury, the caduceus over his shoulder.

R.—COLONIAE. A flaming altar. $\text{AE. } 4.$ (*My cabinet.*)

Of imperial coins of the Pisidian Antiochia, we have a remarkable abundance, but, on the contrary, the colonial coins are exceedingly rare; only three varieties are published, exhibiting different types to the present. The flaming altar is not unfrequently seen on coins of Asia Minor: it refers, probably, to religious rites established by the Persians at a more early period. It occurs on a coin of Hypaepa,²⁸ in Lydia, where the Persians had a temple served by Magi. At Hierocæsarea, in the same province,

²⁶ Thes. Brit. tom. ii. tab. xxiv. fig. 6, p. 278, edit. Lond.

²⁷ Suppt. tom. vii. p. 87.

²⁸ It is an unpublished type in my possession.

Cyrus dedicated a temple to the Persian Diana,²⁹ and on a well known coin of that city, the goddess is represented accompanied with the legend ΠΕΡΣΙΚΗ, on the reverse of which is also a flaming altar.³⁰

APOLLONIA.

See my notice on some remarkable coins, indubitably struck in this city, in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. II. page 182.

BARIS.

No. 1.—Turreted female head, to the right.

R.—ΒΑΡΗΝΩΝ. Naked figure of Bacchus, the thyrsus in one hand, and the cantharum in the other. $\text{AE. } 3\frac{1}{2}$.
(Cabinet of J. Whittall, Esq., Smyrna.)

The present coin is valuable, as being the only autonomous one of Baris, a city only very lately known to us by a rare imperial coin, recorded by Sestini, and after him by Mionnet.³¹

No. 2.—Γ. Μ. Κ. ΕΤΡΥCK. ΔΕΚΙΟC. K. Bare head of Etruscus Decius, to the right.

R.—ΒΑΡΗΝΩΝ. Lunus on horseback, to the right. $\text{AE. } 6$.
(My cabinet.)

3.—ΑΤ. (sic) Γ. ΟΥΞΙΒ. ΤΡΕ. ΓΑΛΛΟC ΣΕB. Laureated head of Trebonius Gallus, to the right.

R.—ΒΑΡΗΝΩΝ. Lunus standing, his right foot resting on something indistinct, holding a conic stone, or perhaps the fruit of the pine in his right hand, and the hasta in his left. $\text{AE. } 7$. (My cabinet.)

²⁹ Tacitus, An. lib. iii. cap. 62 For the Persian temples in Asia Minor, see also Pausanias, book v. chap. 27.

³⁰ Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. tom. iii. p. 103. Mionnet, tom. iv. p. 48, No. 249.

³¹ Sestini, Lett. Num. Cont. tom. viii. p. 90, and Mionnet, Suppt. tom. vii. p. 112.

Sestini's coins of Baris, are of Sept. Severus, and of Alexander; the two cited above, have never been noticed: there is nothing unusual in the types. The subject has often been discussed in the course of these notices.

I profit by the present opportunity to correct an error, which Mionnet has inadvertently committed, of giving a double attribution of the same coin. It is of Alexander Severus, in his Supplement, tom. viii. p. 112: it is ascribed to Baris, and again in the same volume, p. 226, to Bagae in Lydia. It belongs to Baris.

CONANA.

No. 1.—AY. TPA. ΑΔΠΙΑΝΟC. Laureated head of Hadrian, to the right.

R.—KONANΕΩN. Lonus standing, a globe in his extended right hand, and the hasta in his left. AE. 4.
(*British Museum, from my collection.*)

No mention of Conana is to be found except in the *Notitiae Ecclesiasticae*: it is perhaps the same as the Comana of Ptolemy. The coins of this city are extremely rare; the present one of Hadrian is earlier than the few already published, the most ancient in the list previously known is one of Antoninus Pius.

CRETOPOLIS.

Experience has taught me that the coins similar to those ascribed by Sestini³² and Mionnet³³ to Cratia, in Bithynia, are much more likely to belong to Cretopolis, in Pisidia, for they have been constantly brought to me in company with coins of other cities of Pisidia, and the adjacent provinces.

³² Descr. d. Med. Ant. del Mus. Hederv. p. 44, Nos. 1 and 2.

³³ Suppt. v. p. 32, Nos. 173 and 174.

Observations on the localities where particular coins are constantly found, particularly during so long a period as twenty-five years, become of value. I need no other apology for recording the result of mine here for the general benefit of numismatic science.

CREMNA.

No. 1.—IMP. CAES. C. MES. Q. . . DECIVS P. F. AVG.
Laureated head of Mysius Decius, to the right.

R.—SILVA. COL. CREM. Silvanus standing, an uncertain instrument in his right hand, and the *pedum* in his left. $\text{AE. } 4\frac{1}{2}$. (*My cabinet.*)

Upon this rare coin of Cremna, struck under the younger Decius, we have the unusual figure of Silvanus, who, being a deity of Italian origin, had his worship probably introduced into the city by the early Roman colonists.

PEDNELISSUS.

No. 1.—ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC ΚΑΙCAP. Bare head of Aurelius Antoninus, to the right.

R.—ΠΕΔΝΗΙΑΙCCEΩN. Jupiter Aetophorus seated. $\text{AE. } 5$.
(*My cabinet.*)

2.—ΑΥ. K. M. AN. Laureated and bearded head of the same.

R.—ΠΕΔΝΗΙΑΙCCEΩN. Cone-shaped stone in a temple. $\text{AE. } 2$. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

3.—ΑΥ. K. M. ΑΥ. ΣΕ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC ΣΕB. Laureated head of Alexander Severus, to the right.

R.—ΠΕΔΝΗΙΑΙCCEΩN (*sic*). Nemesis standing, with her usual attributes $\text{AE. } 4\frac{1}{2}$. (*My cabinet.*)

The name of this city, both on coins and in ancient authors, is written indifferently, Petnolissus and Pednelissus.

The only two coins hitherto published of this city, are of the emperors Commodus and of Maximus. On the latter

is represented the figure of Nemesis, as on my No. 3. The cone-shaped stone, on the reverse of No. 2, occurs on a coin of Pogla, and on another of Perga. It refers to the worship of Diana Pergææ, which seems to have been widely spread over both Pamphylia and Pisidia.

Pednelissus, though a place of small importance, must have been strongly fortified; it successfully resisted a siege against a powerful body of Selgiens, till it was relieved by Garsycris, a general in the service of Achæus; and it was under the walls of this city, that the Selgiens were defeated with the loss of ten thousand men.³⁴

PROSTANNA.³⁵

No. 1.—AY. KA. Λ. C€. C€OYHPOC II. Laureated head of Sept. Severus, to the right.

R.—ΠΡΟΣΤΑΝΝΕΩΝ. Distyle temple, in which is the god Lunus standing, front face; in his right hand he holds some indistinct object, and in his left, the cone-shaped stone; a crescent across his shoulders and another on his forehead; at his feet, on either side, a lion. In the field, to the right, a sphinx above and a cock below. Æ. 9½. (*My cabinet.*)

The few imperial coins that are published of Prostanna, are all of the emperor Cladius Gothicus; the present, of Septimus Severus, being of a much earlier date, entitles it to notice. It is equally remarkable for the number of attributes which accompany the god Lunus.

No. 2.—AY. K. M. AYP. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC. Laureated bust of Cladius Gothicus, to the right.

R.—ΠΡΟΣΤΑΝΝΕΩΝ. River god reclining on an urn, a long branch in his right hand; on the exergue, an indistinct legend, thus, ΙΟΛΟΝVT. Æ. 8. (*My cabinet.*)

³⁴ Polybius, lib. v. cap. 7.

³⁵ The Prostanna of Ptolemy.

The geographical position of Prostanna is designated upon a rare coin, on which is represented a mountain with the legend ΟΥΙΑΠΟC³⁶ (Mount Viarus); but this mountain is unnoticed by geographers. On the preceding coin, which is also of Claudius Gothicus, the type on the reverse exhibits a river god; the name of the river, which might have been of great importance, is unfortunately indecipherable, nothing can be determined by the few detached letters which remain distinct.

SAGALASSUS.

No. 1.—Laureated and bearded head of Jupiter, to the right.

R.—ΣΑΓΑΛΑΣΣΕΩΝ. Cornucopia, with fillets, filled with fruit. Æ. 4.

(*Cabinet of M. Gillet, French Consul at Tarsus.*)

Only one other silver coin of Sagalassus has been published,³⁷ presenting the same head of Jupiter, but with a different reverse to the present.

No. 2.—ΑΔΠΙΑΝΟC KAICAP ΟΑΥΜΗΙΟC. Laureated bust of Hadrian, to the right.

R.—ΣΑΓΑΛΑССЕΩΝ. Lurus standing, an indistinct object in his extended right hand; at his feet, a bull. Æ. 7.
(*My cabinet.*)

The epithet of Olympius, given to the emperor Hadrian on this coin, is not peculiar to Sagalassus, it occurs on the money of several other Asiatic cities. Rasche, in his “Lexicon Universæ Rei Numariæ,” has given a list of these cities under the word ‘Ολύμπιος.

No. 3.—ΑΥΤ. KAI. ANTΩΝΙΟC. Laureated head of Marcus Antoninus, to the right.

R.—ΣΑΓΑΛΑССЕΩΝ. Apollo seated, his left hand on a lyre, which stands upon a column. Æ. 7.

(*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

³⁶ Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 510, and Suppt. vii. p. 122.

³⁷ In the French National Collection, Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 511, No. 103.

No. 4.—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥ. ΑΝΤΩΝ. Laureated head of Caracalla.

R.—ΣΑΓΑΛΑΚΚΕΩΝ. Apollo, as last. Έ. 6.
(*My cabinet.*)

5.—Μ. ΟΠΕΛ. ΑΝΤ. ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΙΑΝΟC. Bare head of Diadumenian.

R.—ΣΑΓΑΛΑΚΚΕΩΝ. Pluto seated, patera in one hand, and hasta in the other, the dog Cerberus at his feet. Έ. 6. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

Pluto is represented on another coin of this city, struck for Marcus Aurelius.³⁸

No. 6.—ΙΟΥΛ. ΚΟΡ. ΠΑΥΛΑ C. Head of Julia Cornelia Paula to the right.

R.—ΣΑΓΑΛΑΚΚΕΩΝ. Mercury seated on a rock, a purse in one hand, and the caduceus in the other. Έ. 4.
(*Same cabinet, from same.*)

7.—: KOC. ΕΤΡ. ΜΕ. ΔΕΚΙΟC. Laureated head of Etruseus Decius.

R.—ΣΑΓΑΛΑΚΚΕΩΝ. Victory passing, holding a garland. Έ. 6. (*My cabinet.*)

8.—ΣΑΛΩΝΕΙΝΑ. Bust of Salonina on a crescent, in the field.

R.—ΣΑΓΑΛΑΚΚΕΩΝ. Eagle standing. Έ. 9.
(*My cabinet.*)

These coins present nothing worthy of remark: they are merely varieties of types different from those published.

Some writers are of opinion, that Sagalassus was a colony of the Selgians, and through them claimed descent from Lacedæmon. This accounts for the legend ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΣΑΓΑΛΑΚΚΟC, which is found on a coin of Marcus Aurelius.³⁹ From other coins we learn that the city was situated on the river Cestrus;⁴⁰ and, moreover, that the Sagalassians claimed for their city the title of Capital

³⁸ Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 513, No. 116.

³⁹ Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 513, No. 115 and No. 124.

⁴⁰ Idem, loc. cit. p. 516, No. 133.

of Pisidia, and allied with Rome : pretensions we find on a remarkable coin of Valerian. ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΣΑΓΑΛΑΣ-
ΑΙΩΝ (*sic*). ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΠΙΣΙΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΗΣ ΣΥΝΜΑΧΟΥ.⁴¹

SELEUCIA.

No. 1.—ΚΛΑΥΔ. ΣΕΛΕΥΚ. Turreted female head, to the right.

R.—A ram standing (no legend). Æ. 3.

(*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

2.—ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤ. Head of Julia Domna.

R.—ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΚΕΛ. ΣΥΚΕΩΝ. Bacchus standing, the thyrsus in one hand, and the cantharum in the other. Æ. 7. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

3.—ΑΥΤ. ΚΑ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. ::::: Laureated head of Caracalla, to the right.

R.—ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΚΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ. Naked figure of Bacchus standing, his right hand held above his head; on one side a small figure of a satyr, and on the other a panther. Æ. 9. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

4.—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΥΑ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC ΣΕ. Laureated head of Alexander Severus.

R.—ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΚΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ. Hercules striking the hydra of Lerna with his club. Æ. 9.
(*Same cabinet, from same.*)

5.—ΑΥ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΚΑΑ. Laureated head of Claudius Gothicus.

R.—ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΚΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ. Jupiter Nicephorus seated. Æ. 9. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

Vaillant⁴² and Banduri⁴³ have attributed some imperial coins with ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΚΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ, to the town of Seleucia, in Cilicia, under the impression that the legend denoted an alliance between that city and Claudiopolis in the same province. Eckhel's opinion, however, that they belong to the Seleucia of Pisidia, has justly prevailed with

⁴¹ Idem, loc. cit. p. 516, No. 131.

⁴² Numismata Græca.

⁴³ Tom. i. p. 194.

later writers.⁴⁴ The Seleucia of Pisidia was named *ad Taurum*, from its vicinity to Mount Taurus. It probably adopted the surname of Claudia from the first emperor of that name.

The first coin on this list is autonomous. None were previously noticed; but, as it bears the name of Claudia, it must have been struck under the Roman domination. Under No. 4 of Alexander Severus, Hercules is represented destroying the hydra of Lerna; but the present differs from the same subject on other coins, as he is unattended by Minerva.

SELGE.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Hercules, front face; in the field a club.

R.—ΣΕΛΓΙΩΝ. Inscribed between a club and a kind of plant in a vase, below Z. AR. 2½. 31½ grs.
(*My cabinet.*)

This is an unpublished type of the already abundant series of coins of Selge.

Sestini has assigned two silver coins to this city, which certainly belong to Sicyon.⁴⁵ The kneeling figure which he describes as an Apollo, is of Diana. I have already pointed out this error in my notices under Sicyon in this Chronicle, Vol. VI. p. 135.

H. P. BORRELL.

*Smyrna, 20th Feb. 1843.
To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.*

⁴⁴ Doct. Num. Vet. tom. iii. p. 23.

⁴⁵ Lett. Num. tom. vi. p. 60, and Descrit. del Med. Ant. del Mus. Hederv. tom. ii. p. 271, tab. xxii. fig. 5; also, Miouillet, Suppt. vol. vii. p. 132, Nos. 194 and 195.

MISCELLANEA.

LIGHT GOLD:—Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 17th of March, 1847 : for an Account of the Expenses incurred at the Mint, on the Recoinage of 2,860,282 ounces of Light Gold received from the Bank of England, under the Minute of Treasury, dated the 8th day of June, 1842." Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be Printed, 29th March, 1847.

No. 1. Copy of Treasury Minute of the 8th June 1842.

It having been represented to my Lords that great inconvenience results from the quantity of light gold coin now in circulation, and it appearing to my Lords that it would tend to diminish this evil if the Bank of England were authorised to receive, on behalf of the Government, such light gold coin, at the rate of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* the ounce, being the Mint price, my Lords are pleased to direct a letter to be written to the Bank of England, requesting them to give public notice of their readiness to receive gold coin, not being of the weight at which such coin is authorised by law to be current, at the rate of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* per ounce, and to transmit the same, when received, to the Mint, for recounage.

No. 2. Expenses incurred at the Mint in the Recoinage of the Light Gold Coin.

Loss on the old coin, after being melted and assayed, 149lbs. £ s. d.

3oz. 17dwts. 14grs., at 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* per oz. - - - 6,977 2 7

Melting down the coin into ingots for recounage, 236,523lbs.

6oz. at 4*d.* per lb. - - - 3,942 1 2

The Master's assayer, making the assays of the ingots, 11,825

ingots, at 2*s.* per ingot - - - 1,182 10 0

Coinage Charges; viz.—

The moneymen, 207,727lbs. 6oz. 2dwts.

10grs. into Sovereigns, at 3*s.* 6*d.* per lb. £36,352 6 3

Ditto, 30,480lbs. into half-sovereigns, at

4*s.* 6*d.* per lb. - - - 6,858 0 0

43,210 6 3

The melter, 207,727lbs. 6oz. 2dwts. 10grs.

into sovereigns, at 10*d.* per lb. - - - 8,655 6 3

Ditto, 30,480lbs. into half-sovereigns, at

11*d.* per lb. - - - 1,439 6 8

10,094 12 11

The refiner, refining 101lbs. 2oz. 15dwts., at 6*s.* per lb. - - - 30 7 4

The Surveyor of melttings, for extra duty and attendance in superintending the melting of the light coin into ingots for the assay - - - 150 0 0

Contingent expenses for charcoal, acid, steel dies, and incidental expenses of every description, estimated at 5*d.* per cent. - 2,320 5 0

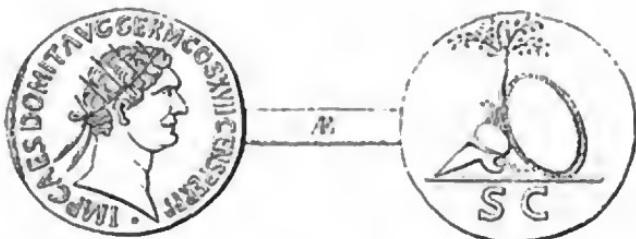
Carried forward, £67,907 5 3

| Deduct: | | £ | s. | d. |
|--|----------|---------------------|----|----|
| Expense of melting saved on 22,000 ounces of light coin containing silver, delivered to be refined - - - - - | £30 11 1 | | | |
| Allowance received for the silver extracted from the above coin, at 2 <i>d.</i> per lb. - - - - - | 15 5 5 | | | |
| Profit by excess on the tale of the monies coined, over the computed value - - - - - | 45 15 2 | | | |
| | | <u>91 11 8</u> | | |
| Actual Expenses incurred in the Recoinage - - - - - | | <u>£67,815 13 7</u> | | |

Mint Office, 23rd March, 1847. Jas. W. Morrison, Dep. Master.

DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS IN NORFOLK.—Towards the close of last year, at Beachamwell, in this county, as a boy was digging in a sand-pit, which had recently been opened, he struck his spade, about two feet from the surface, against an earthen urn or jar, from which fell a number of silver coins, which proved to be of the Roman Imperial Series. The jar containing them was broken, and part of it could not be found: a circumstance the more to be regretted as it was in good preservation and of fine workmanship, having the word *SOSIMIS* stamped on the bottom.—This jar was covered over by another, the upper one being of superior manufacture. The place where these relics of antiquity were found is on a heath, in the occupation of Mr. J. Chambers, situated very near a plantation called Wellmere, in the parish above mentioned, the property of the Hon. C. Speneer Cowper, the present worthy High Sheriff of Norfolk.—The exact number of coins discovered cannot be ascertained, but it is believed to have amounted to fifty. Of these thirty-seven have been collected, and submitted to inspection. They consist of denarii, struck under the following Emperors: viz. Vespasian five; Domitian two; Nerva one; Trajan three; Hadrian eight; Antoninus Pius seven; Faustina the elder, three; M. Aurelius two; Faustina the younger, one; L. Verus three; Commodus one; to this enumeration is to be added a (consular) medal of the Antonia family. With two or three exceptions the whole of these are in tolerably good, and many of them in very excellent, preservation. The only rare reverses amongst them, are the *TELLVS STABILITA*, and the *IIISPANIA* of Hadrian; together with a type of Hercules, of the same reign; and the *FORTVNA OBSEQVENS* of Antoninus Pius.—*Norfolk Chronicle.*

COLLECTION OF ROMAN COINS AT COLOGNE.—Mr. J. M. G. Fontaine, at Cologne, is charged with the sale of a collection of Roman coins in that city. It consists of 7015 specimens, of which 92 are gold, 2370 silver, and 4553 brass of different sizes. Mr. Bachem, bookseller to the Court at Cologne, will supply catalogues to persons desiring particulars, through any bookseller in correspondence with the Continent.



VII.

UNEDITED COIN OF DOMITIAN.

It is not often that an unedited coin of the Roman Imperial series comes under the notice of the Numismatist. The above engraving is an accurate representation of a second brass coin of the Emperor Domitian, from a drawing by the possessor, Mr. B. Nightingale. The type of the reverse furnishes a very apt illustration of the history of Imperial Rome. We, however, had already a very perfect concordance of the types of the money of Domitian with the recital of the historian. Suetonius especially mentions the veneration in which the goddess Minerva, whose festivals he caused to be celebrated on the Alban Mount every year, was held by the tyrant;¹ and this is confirmed in a most satisfactory manner, by the exceedingly common denarii of Domitian, on which the favourite divinity is represented on the summit of a rostral column in the attitude of combat. The rare gold and silver medallions of this emperor have the same type,² and testify to the accuracy of the Biographer of the Cæsars.

¹ Celebrabat et in Albano quotannis Quinquatria Minervæ cui collegium instituerat. Suet. in Dom. c. 4. The same author mentions his ominous dream, that Minerva had withdrawn her protection from him:—Minervam, quam superstitione colebat somniavit exedere sacrario, etc. Ibid. c. 15.

² Mionnet, De la Rareté, etc. vol. i., and Descriptive Catalogue of Rare and Unedited Roman Coins, vol. i. p. 199.

VIII.

UNPUBLISHED VARIETIES OF THE IRISH FULL-FACE HALF-PENCE OF JOHN.

AMONG a large number of the Irish full-face half-pence of John, procured for me, at the sale, in 1845, at Sotheby's, of the coins of Thomas Walker, Esq., of Ravenswood Park, Yorkshire, I was so fortunate as to obtain one, which reads, on the reverse, “+ WALTEX ON RE,” this being a variety, as yet unpublished and unnoticed.

I have also since seen two other full-face half-pence of John, procured also from Mr. Walker's sale, one of which reads, on reverse, “+ WALTEX ON REN,” the other, “+ WALTER ON REN.”

There is not any town in Ireland of the period of John, to which we could safely appropriate these coins, and the question then remains, as to what locality they can be given, so as to remove all doubt of their being specimens of John's coins, struck during his lordship in Ireland.

The coins are *precisely similar, in every respect* (except the legends, on reverses as above stated), to those other full-face halfpence of John, reading on obverse “+ IO-HANNES DOM” so often engraved, and already so well known, and now to be found in a large number of varieties, in almost every cabinet and collection of Irish coins. I have therefore thought it superfluous to send you drawings.

Among the known varieties of the full-face half-pence of John, I find in my own cabinet one reading on reverse, “+ WALTER ON WK.” And I am inclined to conclude, that the coins reading “WALTER,” and “WALTEX ON RE” and “REN” were also struck by the same “Master Walter,” and also, in the same town, viz. Waterford.

On referring to Smith's History of Waterford,¹ and also, to the more recent publication on the same subject, by the Reverend R. H. Ryland,² I find Mr. Ryland making use of these words at page 112, in describing Reginald's Tower, situated in that city: he says, "It is called Reginald's "Tower, from the name of its founder, by whom it was erected "ed, in 1003.³ In some ancient documents, this place is "called Dondory, *Reynold's Tower*, and the Ring Tower. "The last is a corruption of the original name. Reginald's "Tower, of which a print is annexed, is the oldest castle in "Ireland." I find Mr. Ryland also alluding to it as follows: — "Reginald's Tower has been used for many and various "purposes: originally a fortification, it was afterwards used "as a prison, a *royal mint*, a depository of public stores, "and more recently, a place of confinement, and a watch- "house. Under the name of Dondory, it was constituted "a *royal mint*, and is thus represented in several "statutes."

Doctor Charles Smith, at page 117 of his history (as is also copied in Ryland), gives a Statute of Edward the Fourth, from the Roll's office, regarding the Mint at Waterford, in 1463. A recital in the words of this statute, may not be deemed uninteresting to our purpose: "Roll's "Office, Stat. 3, Edw. IV., No. 39, 1463. It being en- "acted by a Parliament held at Drogheda, Ann. 38. Hen. "VI., that the gross [i.e. the groat], the dernier, the demi- "dernier, and the quadrant should be struck within the

¹ The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford, by Charles Smith, M.D., 8vo. William Wilson, Dublin, 1774.

² The History, Topography, and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford, by the Reverend R. H. Ryland. 8vo. London, John Murray, 1824.

³ Reginald's Tower was built in the year 1003 by Reginald (son of Ivorus or Ivars), king of the Danes, at Waterford.

" castles of Dublin, and Trim, now the Mayor, Bailiffs, and
" Commons of Waterford are daily incumbered for want of
" small coins, for change of greater, it is enacted, at their
" petition, that the above-mentioned small coins be struck
" at Waterford, in a place called Dondory, alias, *Reynold's*
" *Tower*, and that they be made of the same weight, print,
" and size, as is mentioned in the said act, to be done in the
" Castles of Dublin and Trim, and that they shall have
" this scripture : *Civitas Waterford.*"

From the words of the above statute, there is not the slightest doubt whatever, that *Reynold's*, or Reginald's Tower, in the City of Waterford, was once the spot of a *Royal Mint*, and that it was used as such previously, and also during the period of John's lordship in Ireland, we may be assured, as well from the above fact, as that both Henry the Second, and his son John made it, as the historian observes, "the depot of their power and strength."

If, therefore, it is admitted, and I think there can be very little doubt about it, that the coins reading " R ϵ ," and " R ϵ N" were minted in Reginald's Tower, they must be considered of very peculiar interest, as we can not only appropriate them to the town, but also to the very building in which they were struck, and which still exists in all its pristine state and strength on the Long Quay at Waterford.

To appropriate a coin of so early a date, to the very existing building in which it was minted, must be esteemed a rarity indeed, and in the case of an Irish coin, a more than peculiar one, when we contemplate the almost numberless scenes of rapine, destruction and confiscation, which this unhappy country has undergone during the last six centuries and a half.

Why " Master Walter" peculiarised Reginald's Tower, and also Waterford, I leave to others to decide.

Perhaps when the former were minted, John did not hold sway over the entire town of Waterford, which he might afterwards have been considered as possessing, and perhaps, what the historian says of his father, Henry the Second:⁴ "that at his departure, he left not one true subject behind him, more than he found on coming over," might be also at that time as appropriately told of John; therefore the first spot and stronghold of his power, the *mint* of his *first coins*, Reginald's Tower, was peculiarised. It may, however, be as probable that the place of mintage was afterwards changed for some other building in Waterford.

I have only further to state, that I understand the varieties of this mint and moneyer are very rare, a few only being known, and these not until after the dispersion of the very large hoards of the coins of John at Mr. Walker's sale.

Believe me to remain,

Dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

EDWARD HOARE.

Cork, June 1st, 1847.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.

P. S.—I have a very fine full-face half-penny of John, in my cabinet, reading on reverse: "+TVRGOD ON DWĒ," a variety hitherto unpublished. I have also seen another specimen, precisely similar, in the collection of Dr. Aquilla Smith of Dublin. These coins did not belong to Mr. Walker's hoards. They were both procured in Ireland, long previous to Mr. Walker's sale. I have seen two others also, which I have no doubt were similar to the above, but so badly preserved, that only a portion of the word "Turgod" was legible. I have also an unpublished variety, "+ GE-FRĒI ON WA."

⁴ See Ryland, page 14.

IX.

OBSERVATIONS ON COINS OF SELINUS.

IN some observations on the types of the coins of Caulonia, Numismatic Chronicle No. XXXVI., I took occasion to advert to the illustration furnished by those of Selinus, of the relation, recognised by the ancients, between the rites of healthful lustration, and the influence or agency of the Sun-god: restricting myself, however, to general indications of the import of the Sicilian coin, and reference to the authorities by which it is decided.

The subject will reward more detailed examination; little perhaps may be added to the accepted elucidation of the Selinuntian type¹, of which an engraving was then given; but another occurs on a parallel set of coins of the same city, which has not, so far as I am aware, received equal attention: and the examination of this, necessarily leads us to review the historical anecdote to which they refer in common.

The city of Selinus, according to Diogenes Laertius in the life of Empedocles, suffered from the pestilential exhalations of an adjacent river, causing great mortality, as well as difficult and dangerous labours of their women. Whatever may be thought of the assigned cause in this particular instance, it is well known that puerperal fevers constantly are recognised as endemic; and this is not the only trace of the same observation having been made in

¹ K. O. Müller: *Annali dell' Inst.* 1835, p. 263.





antiquity. To remedy the evil, the philosopher formed a plan, and executed it at his own charge, by which he connected two of the rivers of the vicinity and rendered the waters sweet by the admixture. The pestilence ceased, and when on a certain occasion Empedocles appeared among the citizens as they feasted on the banks of the river, they rose up and prostrated themselves and prayed to him as a god.

The rivers of the locality were the Selinus and the Hypsas, the latter receiving the waters of the Crimisus. They reach the sea through the low grounds on either side of the elevation occupied by the ruins of the once flourishing city, and after ages of desolation, the original character of the locality is but too well re-established, and the miasma from swamps and shallows renders it at present a task of danger to explore the formerly populous and busy seat of ancient civilisation.

Whatever may have been the actual concern of Empedocles in the matter, which fortunately we are not now called on to discuss, we can have no difficulty in recognising the story of some operations of hydraulic engineering by which salubrity was gained for Selinus, as truly historical. Perhaps it is not rash to venture to substitute a more probable theory of their nature for the notion of the biographer, who appears to ascribe the improvement to the sweetening effects of mixing a pure stream with a foul one. The details of this particular instance and the analogy of others indicate that the drainage of the marsh was effected, by passing through it a copious current in a well constructed channel.

The Colynibethra of Megaris, ascribed to Daedalus, and that of Agrigentum, executed together with the enormous works for the drainage of the same town by the labour of

Carthaginian captives, are other Sicilian examples of works of the same class as the Selinuntian in question.² (Diod. xi. 25).

Both rivers, the Selinus and the Hypsas, appear on the coins personified as naked male human figures, with small horns budding from their foreheads. On the coin already published, the river-god Selinus holds in his left hand the lustral branch, emblem of purification, and with his right makes a libation at an altar, which, from the cock in front of it, appears to pertain to a health-god, whether Apollo or *Æsculapius*. The leaf in the field of the coin is that of the *σελινός*, parsley or rather celery, which abounded in the neighbourhood, and alludes to the name of the city. Plutarch mentions the dedication by the Selinuntians of a representation of the plant in gold, as a *συμβολον* or *παρασημον* of their town (Plut. de Pyth. Orac. xii.).

Behind the river-god is a small bull, which from the formal base on which it is placed evidently represents a statue; it may stand for a gloss, as type of a river according to the analogies of Sicilian and Italian coins; a bronze bull at Gela was said by Timæus to represent the river Gela; in the present instance the more special allusion is probably to the second river concerned in the purification commemorated.

On the reverse of the coin we have Apollo discharging

² Ausserhalb des eigentlichen Griechenlandes ist vor Allem Syrakus für die Kenntniss hellenischer Wasserbauten wichtig. Die unterirdischen Wassercanäle, welche die Athener zum Theil zerstörten, sind in ganzer Länge zu verfolgen und bringen noch heute reichliches Trinkwasser in die Stadt. Dieser unterirdische Fluss geht selbst von der Akradina unter dem Meere durch nach der Insel Ortygia hinüber, wie dies schon Fazello mit Staunen bemerkte.—*E. Curtius, Archäolog. Zeit. N. F.* p. 31.

his arrows, in a car guided by his sister Artemis; the notice that the pest affected women in childbed gives peculiar propriety to the presence of the goddess, whose own shafts afflict the *gravidae puellæ*. The group is usually explained as the production of the pestilence by the arrows of Apollo, the rays of the sun-god. Such is the effect ascribed to his archery in the Iliad; but we have already seen in the Caulonian notes, that pestilence was stayed as well as excited by his arrows, and the Theban chorus of Sophocles invokes him to relieve them by this means:—

Λυκεῖ ἀράξ, τὰ τε σα χρυσοστροφῶν απ' αγκυλῶν
βέλεα θελοιμ' αν ἀδαματ' εὐδατεισθαι
ἀρωγὰ προσταθεντα, τας τε πυρφόρους
Αρτεμίδος αυγῆς. κ.τ.λ.—v. 202. Οἰδίπ. Τύρ.

The same motive appears for the associated appeal to Artemis at Thebes as at Selinus. (Cf. v. 172.)

The group of the divine twins resembles that on a frieze of the temple of Phigaleia, which was raised to Apollo, as Epikoureios and as queller of a pestilence.³

³ To complete the analogy to the Caulonian instance, it may be noticed, that Empedocles had the title *κωλνσανεμας* or *αλεξινεμας*, from the control he was said to have exercised over the winds when operating destructively on vegetation. The form of conjuration employed by him (cf. Diog. Laert. in vit.), with *ασκοι*, made of asses' skins, I doubt not was derived from some prevalent Western superstition that helped Homer to his fiction of the bag of winds given by Æolus to Odysseus—an *ασκος* formed of a hide. As sacrifices of asses belong peculiarly to Apollo (Pindar, Pyth. x. 33, among the Hyperboreans: at Delphi Corp. Iuscrip. v. l. fasc. iii.), we may conclude that the purifying god, addressed by Empedocles, was, as seen on the coins, Apollo, the sun-god purging the air and breezes.

κανεμων αηματα
ενηλιως πνεοντ' επιστειχειν χθονα.—Æsch. Eumen. 905.

The coin inscribed Hypsas presents us with the god of the river, personified like the Selinus, and making a libation at an altar of similar form, but instead of the cock, a serpent appears in front of it, and coiling round it; a health symbol like the cock, and, like that, appropriate either to Apollo or Asclepius his son.

The leaf of celery again appears in the field, and instead of the statue of a bull, a heron, which as a wader is an apt emblem of a marsh or shallow stream, and renders it probable that it was the Hypsas of which the sluggish waters were the cause of the mischief.

It is the type on the reverse of this coin, Hercules struggling with a bull, which he holds by the horn with his left hand, his right grasping his knotted and menacing club, that is more particularly the subject of the present analysis.

Hercules had many adventures in Sicily,—he traversed the island on his return from the West with the cattle of Geryon, he sacrificed a bull from the herd to Demeter and Kore, and owed refreshment from his labours to the thermal waters that abounded in Sicily, and of which not the least celebrated were in the neighbourhood of Selinus (Diod. iv. 78).

I am inclined, however, to regard the Hercules bull-tamer of the coin as a mythical antitype of the labours by which the courses of the Selinuntian rivers were corrected, and specially, for reasons that will presently appear, as Hercules and the Achelous. Hercules, according to the

I may insert here a grammarian's note on the alteration of the name of the Italian city : Eustathius p. 628. quotes Heracleides of Alexandria on the formation of κελενθος from ελενθος : πλεονασμω του κ. φ λογω και την Ανδωνιαν Χαραξ Καυλωνιαν φησιν εν Ιταλικοις. ουτω δε φησι, και τα ανθηλια, καρθηλια.

legend, wrestled with the river Achelous in the form of a bull, and broke off one of his horns, in requital of which he gave him the horn of Amaltheia, the emblem of inexhaustible fertility and plenty. The prize of the contest was Deianira, daughter of Oineus and Doris, or some said of Dionusos.

In the Iliad (xxi. 237) the Trojan river contending with Achilles, throws out the dead on the shore, *μεμυκώς ηὔτε ταύρος*, roaring like a bull; a sufficient proof, I hold, that the personification of rivers as bulls is as old as Homer. The Scholiast (*ibid.*) observes that Archilochus, less daring than Homer, represented Achelous contending with Hercules, not as a river but as a bull.

Strabo (ii. 342, Tauch.) interprets the legend as a mythical account of certain actual engineering operations by which, by means of mounds and cuttings, dams and channels (*παραχωμασι τε καὶ διοχετειαις*), the course of the river was corrected and restrained, and a fertile tract gained for cultivation. The river, apparently, was carried into a more direct channel, and one *καμπός* or reach, called, says Strabo, a *κέρας*, was drained. The fertility of the ground thus won gave rise, according to the geographer, to the story of the horn of Amalthea.

Legend has other parallel stories which confirm this interpretation, and in other respects it is completely in accordance with the peculiarities of the locality. One of the labours of Hercules was the draining of the stables of Augeas in Elis, a country early and closely connected with the Aetolians of the Achelous, and of which the districts lying about the mouths of its rivers are, according to all authorities, of a nature to render necessary such operations of embankment and draining as legend indicates. The early age in which such works were undertaken in

Greece, and in consequence of which they came to be ascribed to a mythical hero, may be illustrated by the extensive operations connected with the peculiar drainage of the plain of the Lake Copais, the country of the Minyans of Orchomenos.⁴

The Pheneatae of Arcadia regarded as works of Hercules, the *βαραθρα* or subterraneous channels by which their rivers escaped and their plain was preserved from inundation. Paus. viii. 14. The Stymphalian lake was drained by a similar chasm (Id. vii. 22), and Hercules again was no doubt the engineer: his success is represented in legend, on coins and other monuments as the driving away of the Stymphalian birds, i.e. the waterfowl of the lake. The departure of these, as a natural symbol of the destruction of their haunt, is parallel to the heron of Selinus, evidently represented in full retreat.

The account of the purification of Elis given by Apollodorus agrees remarkably with that of Selinus, as related by Diogenes Laertius. In either case, low grounds or stagnant marshes seem to have been drained by forming a channel through them for a considerable stream, obtained by the junction of several smaller. Hercules in Elis, says the mythologist (ii. 5. 3.) τον Ἀλφειον ποταμον και τον Πηνειον συνεγγυς ρεοντας παροχετευσας επηγαγεν. While Diogenes with parallel expression says of Empedocles at Selinus, δυο τινας ποταμους των συνεγγυης επαγαγειν.

Whether, however, this agreement of expressions had foundation in fact or not is quite indifferent to the ex-

⁴ The Hydra quelled by Hercules, by its name a water monster, had its haunt among the marshes, springs and lakes, both numerous and remarkable, of the district of Lerna.—Cf. Pausanias ii. 37, 4. On the chest of Cypselus Hercules was represented slaying the Hydra in the Lernæan river Amumone (Id. v. 17. 11.).

planation of the type of our coin; there is no doubt of the antiquity of the group of Hercules struggling with the bull, as representing the contest of the hero with a river-god, and whatever may have been the origin of the story of the contest, its existence in this form rendered it an appropriate antitype of the historical operations at Selinus, and supplies an explanation, sufficient, according to the analogies of Greek habits of association, to account for the combination of the two subjects on the monument.

The suggestion and propriety of the type can, however, be demonstrated with still greater exactness. There were grounds for the diffusion and application of the type of the Achelous more widely than other purely local emblems and legends. It was a sacred river, celebrated by Hesiod as the oldest of the 3000 floods, offspring of Oceanus and Tethys. Much of its celebrity seems also to have been due to its relation to the archaic fame of Dodona, to the oracles of which, according to Ephorus (ap. Macrob. Sat. v.), the injunction was always appended, to sacrifice to Achelous. Hence, he adds, Achelous became a common name for water in general, particularly of living streams, and in connection with sacred rites. All living waters were called by his name (compare the Scholiast to Iliad Φ. 194.—*Αχελωον παν πηγαιον ιδωρ*). The usage of poets is to the same effect as noticed by Macrobius in his comments on Virgil's line,—

Poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis.—Georg.

He cites parallel expressions of Aristophanes and Euripides.

The name Achelous is probably in its root the same as the Latin *aqua*, to which that of Achilles, son of the personified land and sea, has also been conjectured to be related; and so again it seems probable that Deianira, the

object of his ardour, is the type of the land or *γῆ*, in the form occurring in *Δηῶ* and *Δημητῆρ*; her descent from Oineus-Dionusos, implies agricultural symbolism, and thus she appears as a personification of the fertile tract, the recovered land at the embouchure of the river, the nymph of the locality. The Deianira of Sophocles relates how the river wooed her in three several forms as a bull, a serpent, and in human shape bull-fronted:—

φοιτῶν εὐαργῆς ταύρος, ἀλλοτ' αἰολὸς
δρακων ἐλικτος, ἀλλοτ' αὐδρειψ κυτει (vcl τυπώ)
βουπρωρος. (aliter βουκρανος).⁵

Two forms of the personified stream are recognised on the coins of the Selinus, the bull either with human head or its own, and the human figure with bull's horns; I have little hesitation in adding a third. On a small coin of the city, we see a seated female, and in front of her a huge serpent reared on its coils (*δρακων ἐλικτος*), which from the position of her hand, she appears to be pushing away from her. This gesture as well as the size of the creature forbids us to think of Hygeia with the health-serpent, which we see coiling round the altar on the larger specimen. We have therefore the river Achelous suitor in the form of a serpent to the unwilling Deianira. The introduction of Hercules on other coins favours this view, in preference to transferring the personifications to the stream and country of Selinus itself.⁶

⁵ Sophocles proceeds to mention the water-dripping beard of Achelous in this form; this, as bulls have no beards, proves that the expression *βουπρωρος* or *βουκρανος* had reference only to horns. The human figure with a bull's head of monuments is not a river, it is the Minotaur.

⁶ So the altar by the Attic river was that of the Achelous, not the Eilissos.—Plato Phœdr. 9.

Selinus was founded by the Megarians of Sicily, but under the conduct of Pamillus⁷ as *κτιστης* from the continental metropolis; such a selection of a leader had ever a religious motive, and to the metropolis, therefore, to its symbols, legends and monuments, we are justified in looking, to explain those of the colony.⁸

The relations of Hercules to Megara are manifold. To this country must be referred the allusion contained in his marriage with Megara at Thebes, with which city Megara has a common fund of legend referring to Ino-Leucothea. The Megarians had many tales to tell of the descendants of the hero, and showed the tomb of Alemena his mother. They boasted that they had conferred the rights of citizenship upon him (Plutarch de Un. in Rep. dom. ii.); doubtless, as usual in such legends, in return for services rendered, services which the mention of their single marshy stream suggests, were probably exerted in the regulation of their drainage and watercourses. However this may be, the Megarian tyrant Theagenes, father-in-law of the Athenian Cylon, paid much attention to the subject, and commemorated his labours by suitable symbolism, erecting an altar to Achelous at the spot called Rhous, whence he diverted the waters that flowed from the heights above the city. This dedication will at once be recognised as precisely parallel to the associated symbols of the coins of Selinus. We may safely conclude that the water thus diverted was, at least in part, employed by Theagenes to supply the celebrated architectural fountain which he constructed within the city; a work admired for its size,

⁷ Thucydides.

⁸ Cf. Müller, Dorians i. p. 120, 230: on the faithful transference of the *cult* of the metropolis by another Megarian colony —Byzantium.

enrichment and numerous columniation. The water was called that of the nymphs Sithnidæ⁹ (Paus. lxi. 1.).

Hence we are guided to the suggestion of the subject of the Megarian dedication in their treasury at Olympia: a group of Hercules and Achelous contending for Deianira in the presence of Zeus, and severally aided by Athene and Ares. The tympanum of the building was enriched with a representation of the battle of gods and giants, Hercules doubtless participating; the exploit which Pindar (Nem. I. 62 ff) associates with the victories of the hero over monsters both by land and water, and harmonised here with the reference of the inscription to a victory over the Corinthians. (Paus. vi. 19. 9.)

These considerations of the general symbolism of the contest of Hercules and Achelous, and of the relation of the hero to the Megarian colonists of Selinus, appear to account for and explain the selection of the type as a mythical equivalent of the hydraulic operations referred to in the sacrifice of the obverse. The interpretation of the reverse of this coin favours a parallel interpretation of the function of Apollo on the others, as Epikoureios; in either case the pestilence, or its cause, is quelled and controlled.

Achelous, however, was not the only bull that yielded to the might of Hercules: as one of his appointed labours, he tamed the bull of Chnossus in Crete, and took it alive to Argos. There is much appearance that here again we have a personified river, and that the feat of the hero is a

⁹ Cf. E. Curtius in Gerhard's Archäologischer Zeitung, N. F. 2, p. 30. Die Megarische Wasserleitung des Theagenes, welche eine Quelle des Kitharon auffing, verdiente sehr eine genaue Untersuchung: ihre Linie ist durch eine in späterer Zeit aufge mauerte Wasserrinne kenntlich und ihre Mündung unweit der Stadt nachzuweisen. Es scheint, dass das quellenarme Megara vorzugsweise ein Sitz der Wasserbaukunst war.

figure for some great engineering work at that metropolis of the early civilisation represented by Minos. Pausanias (i. 27, 9.) associates it with the valley of a river; he says that it devastated Crete generally, and especially the country about the Tethrin, apparently the same stream as the Theren of Diodorus (v. 72.), and perhaps connected with Tritta, an ancient name of the city (Hesychius in v.). Two other streams are mentioned at Cnossus, the Kairatos (Strabo x. 730 and 732), and the Amnisus; and one of its two havens is named Heracleion.

The bull of Europa, no less than that of Pasiphae, has also some traces of a fluvial character—whether original or secondary; it is connected with the river Lethæus at Gortyna, whose appearance in this form and relation is justified by the analogy of the numerous loves of the general prototype Achelous, for Deianira, Perimele, etc.—Solinus preserves the legend (xviii):—“*Gortynam amn⁹ Lethæus præterfluit: quo Europa tauri dorso Gortyni⁹ ferunt vectitalam.*”

The Cnossian animal got loose at Argos, and is found at Marathon in Attica, where it affords an adventure to Theseus the emulator of Hercules. The plain of Marathon was marshy—the marsh so fatal to the Persians—but did this arise as at Selinus from a river? “In Marathon, says Pausanias (i. 32, 6), is a lake, for the most part marshy, a river issues from it which at the part near the lake is suitable for cattle, but where it falls into the sea it is brackish and full of sea-fish.” The Marathonian *demos* dedicated a bronze bull on the Athenian Acropolis, to be compared with the statues of river-bulls at Gela and on the coins of Selinus (compare also the dedication of the Coreyræans at Olympia. Paus. x. 9, 2).

The *demos* of Marathon claimed peculiar interest in

Hercules: they professed to have been the first that worshipped him as a god; hence his children are brought by Euripides as supplicants to Marathon (*Heracleid.* v. 32. *Paus.* i. 32. 5. *Herodot.* vi. 116.); and from the local indications there is ground to suspect that in the plain of Marathon the same contest with overflowing or stagnant waters once took place as we find at Elis, the Achelous and Selinus, and that Hercules, not Theseus, was the hero to whom the exploit was originally assigned.

Plutarch gives a legend (*Theseus* xxxv.) to account for the transference of the Attic honours of Hercules to Theseus; and hence the labours of Hercules furnish the subjects of the metopes of the Theseion. Euripides also has allusion to the association if not interchange of their honors. On the celebrated throne at Amyclæ, the subject of Theseus wrestling with the Minotaur was associated with that of Hercules wrestling with Achelous (*semivirumque bovem, semibovemque virum*); and on the same throne, by a version of the mythus new to Pausanias, Theseus was exhibited leading the Minotaur living and bound, just as he was said to have led the Marathonian bull to sacrifice it at the Acropolis.

The Minotaur, a human figure with bull's head, sprang from the fire-breathing bull of Cnossus and Pasiphae, disguised as a heifer by the art of Dædalus; the conjecture lies near at hand, that this story of an artificial heifer was invented to explain some public monument. So the bronze bull of Phalaris of Agrigentum, a locality where we shall meet with Dædalus again, appears, from the notice of Polybius¹⁰, to have really been furnished with a door about the shoulders, large enough to admit a man. The

¹⁰ Polyb. xxii. 25. Cf. Tzetzes Chil. v. 843.

work, like other Agrigentine productions, was perhaps colossal, and an entrance provided for no other or better reason than an entrance is left for the whimsical into the ball of St. Paul's.

The Agrigentine bull was carried to Carthage on the destruction of the city, and there remained, and was seen by Polybius when Carthage was destroyed in its turn. Scipio then restored it to Sicily, where it remained when Diodorus wrote (Diod. Sic. xiii. 91). The Agrigentines supplied themselves with another bull in its absence, which passed with the many as the bull of Phalaris; Timæus, however, recognised it as a statue of the river Gela,¹¹ and such also it might be conjectured was its prototype.

There are, however, some strong presumptions, that the bull of Phalaris, as an instrument of death or torture, though from religious and not from political motives, was no fiction originally, however it may have become in later times reduced to a mere symbol. This will appear if we follow forth the tracks of the bull of Cnossus. The Minotaur, its offspring, was also or otherwise named Asterios or Asterion,¹² and Cretan coins which bear his figure have on the reverse the symbol of the labyrinth with a star in its centre, with allusion to this celestial name. Asterios and Pasiphae are a pair of names the coinciding import of which directs us to look eastward: they indicate that a filament of astronomical mythology is woven into the web of the legend. Cow and bull are Oriental types of sun and moon, and the legend of Europa is but one of many traces of the early intercourse between Cyprus and Phœnicia; one of the most remarkable, being the monstrous offspring of the daughter of Minos. The

¹¹ Apud Schol. Pind. Pyth. i. 185.

¹² Apollod. iii. 1. Tzetz. Lyco. 653. Paus. ii. 31, 1.

established fact of early Phœnician commerce is sufficient evidence of all the intercourse in early times that for our present purpose need be contended for, without entering into the proofs and probabilities of the settlement in the island of Phœnicians, or tribes of Greek or mixed blood from the Phœnician mainland.

The Rabbins describe the Moloch of Phœnicia as a human figure of brass with a calf's head; the very anti-type therefore of the Cretan Minotaur. Its arms were extended to receive the human victim, fire was kindled around it, and the sound of music drowned the cries of the victim (Selden, *De Diis Syriis* i. 6. Cf. Movers, *Dic Phœnicier*). So the Kronos, worshipped by the Phœnician colonists of Carthage, was a bronze figure with arms extended in such a manner, that when the child to be offered was laid on them, it rolled off into a fiery chasm beneath (Diodor. xx. 14). Corresponding with these notices, we have in Crete the legend of the brazen man, Talos, that locked strangers in its arms and leaped with them into the fire (Simon. ap. Suid. v. Σαρδωνίος γελῶς), and the Kouretes of Crete were said to have formerly sacrificed children to Kronos,¹³ a state of things apparently represented in the mythus of the child-devouring propensities of the same god.

The labyrinth at Cnossus being recognised as of the same nature and origin as other Cretan excavations, it can only be understood as the den of the Minotaur, as forming a cave temple containing the calf-headed idol.

The Greek legends, not to add to these the Greek

¹³ Porphyry, *De Abstinen.* ii. p. 202. The Cyprians of Amathus who made human sacrifices to Kronos, were turned by Aphrodite into horned men, Kerastai. (Lycophron. Engel, *Kypros*, i. 171.) The Cyprian Kronos was therefore the horned god of Phœnicia.

historical instances, of human sacrifices, are too abundant and coherent for us to pronounce them baseless fictions; the custom may even have been of native growth and origin; the heroes and heroines who devote themselves as willing sacrifices to their country, are within one degree of those who devote their nearest and dearest, whether willing or unwilling, for the same patriotic object or mere ambition. Such tendencies would at least assist the reception among tribes and races of Hellenic blood, of the sanguinary rites of Phoenicia, were assistance required in stages of immature civilisation, to aid the eager reception of foreign superstition, however in itself revolting. The Greek race, however, for the most part, and at an extraordinarily early date, worked itself free from such abominations; and the destruction of the Minotaur by Theseus on the one hand, on the other the dethronement of Kronos by Zeus, though nursed among the Kouretes, the former immolators of infants, appear to be the forms in which the triumph of the Hellenic over the Syrian type of worship is expressed and recorded in mythology—the great repository of all the ideas and incidents that sufficiently interested the early Greek mind, to command a record.

The bull of Cnossus was called a fire-breathing animal,¹⁴ a point remarkable from its relation to the fiery sacrifices of the Phœnician Moloch on the one hand, and on the other, to the fiery bull of Phalaris, the devourer, if not sacrificer, of infants,¹⁵ which is found precisely in that part of Sicily, brought by legend into most immediate connection with Crete, and with Minos the patron of the Minotaur.

Dœdalus who made the heifer of Pasiphae, was enclosed

¹⁴ Serv. *Aen.* viii. 294.

¹⁵ Eustath. 1485, 54.

in his own labyrinth, like Perillus in his bull, or Phalaris himself afterwards, but escaped thence to Sicily, where many works were ascribed to him, among others the Columbethra at Megaris, and the warm or vapour baths of Selinus, contrived by the management of warm natural exhalations in a cave. With these baths, apparently, the fate of Minos was connected who, having pursued Dædalus, was smothered or drowned in them by his host Cocalos and his daughters who favoured the fugitive. The Cretans, says Diodorus, built a double tomb for their king, depositing his bones in the secret place, and making the public one a temple of Aphrodite (Diod. iv. 79). This is a description of such a *διπλον οικημα* as occurs in several instances in Greece, where a hero or a heroic tomb is associated with a goddess's temple; the most remarkable instance, but only one of many, is the Erechtheion or temple of Athene Polias at Athens. The tomb, adds the historian, was discovered on the founding of Agrigentum, and the bones of Minos restored by Theron to the Cretans.

From this visit of Minos was dated the founding of Minoa, between Agrigentum and Selinus, afterwards colonised by the latter city and called also Heraclea.

The Cretan and Phœnician analogies of the bull of Phalaris, induce me to conclude in favour of direct influence from either quarter, otherwise the Megarian legends respecting Minos would suffice to account for the reappearance of parallel legends in the colony. I could even suspect that the Carthaginians, in removing the brazen Moloch bull of Phalaris to Africa, recognised a Phœnician symbol, and regarded it as something more than a mere trophy. The Sicilian tyrant himself was transformed by a vagary of tradition (though perhaps only by the slip of a copyist¹⁶)

¹⁶ By substitution of *θειρων* for *θυων*.

into a real Minotaur or Kronos, longing to devour or devouring infants at the breast, and even his own child.¹⁷

The confusion made by the Greeks between the Moloch-bull and the river-bull of Agrigentum has a parallel in that already alluded to, on the throne of Amyclæ, between the Cnossian or Marathonian bull and the Minotaur.

Personified rivers appear on Sicilian and Italian coins and monuments as bulls, bulls with human heads, human figures, and human figures with bull's horns. Sometimes a Nikè offers the bull a crown; and the idea of victory thus connected with the river-god probably has reference to the return of the festival in his honour, the occasion on which his statue would be crowned. The idea of the accomplishment of a course is probably not entirely alien to the symbolism. On a vase of the *Musée Blacas* the human-headed bull bears a female with a hydria, antitype of the loves of Achelous, and advances towards a λούτηρ, the usual symbol of lustration.

Another opportunity must be found for following forth the traces of astronomical symbolism associated with the emblem of the bull, conformably to its Eastern relations indicated in Cretan and Phœnician legend. To another opportunity, or to other expositors, must also be transferred the analysis of the Dionysiac character assumed by the legend. Dionysiac ideas laid hold of this as of all other Greek legends and symbols: they are visible in its neighbourhood, in the story of Achelous as wooer of a daughter of Oineus or Dionusos: ultimately, we find the ideas of the river-god, the sun-god and Dionusos as god of the vintage or general humidity, combined in the same principle,

¹⁷ Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. vii. 5. Clearchus ap. Athenæ p. 396. Tatian. sec. 54. Aspasius ad Aristot. p. 154.

and detectable and patent in the same emblem. In this instance, however, as in so many others, the claim of Dionusos to the symbol is so clearly secondary, that there is no justification for assigning it to him in instances where no other mark of his claim is apparent.

The same observations apply to the Minotaur as a symbol. That it was in origin Dionysiaca, is as contrary to mythological analogy, as that it should ultimately have escaped Dionysiaca application and adoption.¹⁸

Thus ends my essay, in which I may at least say, that I have fairly taken the bull by the horns; this, it may be thought, although the boldest is not always the safest way of attacking a bull; and I must even in the present case leave others to decide whether Hercules or the bull has had the best of it.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

6th August, 1847.

¹⁸ Cf. Gerhard's Archæol. Zeitung, N. F. Beil. i. p. 9. On a cylix of Vulci (red figures), Pasiphae is represented nursing on her lap the infant Minotaur; the external compositions are, on either side a female holding a human limb between two thyrsus-bearing Satyrs: an allusion probably to the Bacchic ὥμοφαγια and the story of Pentheus and its parallels. Ariadne, spouse of the wine-god, for whom also Dædalus exerted his art (Iliad xviii. 592), and who rescued Theseus from the labyrinth, seems to be interchanged with Pasiphae, and brings the symbolism of Dionusos and Kronos into as close association as we find them on the vase. Have we another trace of such a connection in the cave-dwelling Cyclops of Homer, greedy of wine and human flesh?

X.

COINS OF THE PATÁN, AFGHÁN OR GHORÍ SULTANS
OF HINDÚSTÁN (DELHÍ).

(Continued from page 62.)

TWENTIETH KING (A.H. 752—790; A.D. 1351—1388).

On the 27th of Muhurrum, 752, Hindústán was relieved from the capricious rule of Mohammed bin Tuglak, and the vacant throne was filled by his cousin, Firúz. In 754, the new monarch attempted to reduce Haji Ilias, who had thrown off his allegiance to the house of Delhí, and assumed regal honors as sovereign of Bengal and Behar: the emperor was, however, able to accomplish little or nothing towards the subjection of his revolted subject; and, not long afterwards, the kingdom of Bengal became effectively independent. In 755, Firúz commenced the first of those magnificent public works which have perpetuated his name, while those of far mightier kings have been forgotten: the remains of many of these undertakings are still to be seen, scattered, in no scant proportion, over the face of northern Hindústán: indeed, in the original bed of a canal, first excavated by this monarch, at this day flow the waters of the Jumna, which irrigate the surrounding country, from the foot of the Sewalik, to Hissar; and a more modern branch from which supplies the present denizens of the once imperial city of Delhí.

Fruitful in solid benefits to his subjects and succeeding generations, the long and prosperous reign of Firúz has

afforded but slight materials for the historian: hence Ferishtah's narrative of his rule is almost confined to the enumeration of the roads, wells, canals, etc., which, to this time, in bearing the name of Firuz, have, as yet, scarcely needed a chronieler.

In the year 789, the sultan, suffering from the increasing infirmities incident to his advanced age, associated his son, Násir ud din, in the government of the empire; and, from this time, the public prayers were recited in the joint names of father and son. The arrangement thus completed was but of brief duration: a revolt in the capital resulted in the flight of the prince and the re-assumption of regal power by the father; who, however, again as quickly resigned it to a grandson, Ghiás ud din, son of Futteh Khán, who finally succeeded to the empire on the decease of Firuz, which event took place in 790.

112.—Gold. 167 grs. R. (B. M.)

Obv. واثق بتأييد يزدانی فیروز شاد سلطانی.—

Confiding in the benignity of God, the royal Firuz Sháh.

صریت هذه السکة في زمان الامام ابو العباس احمد.—

R. خلدت ملکه This coin was struck in the time of the Imám Abú Abbás Ahmed. May his sovereignty endure.

113.—Gold. 170 grs. (B. M.)

Obv. السلطان الاعظم سيف امير المؤمنین ابوالمظفر فیروز شاد.—

السلطان خلدت ملکه The most mighty sultan, sword of the commander of the faithful, Abú Muzafer Firuz Sháh, the sultan. May his reign be prolonged.

في زمان الامام امير المؤمنين ابو الفتاح خلدت خلافته.—

In the time of the Imám, commander of the faithful, Abú Fateh. May his khalifat endure.

صریت هذه السکة بحضر - - - ين و سبعمايه.—

The assumption by Firuz, at this particular juncture, of the title of Seif Amír Al Mominín, as connected with the simultaneous recognition of the new Egyptian khalif, Abul Fateh Abubekir, who had only lately attained pontifical honors, seems to indicate that the title in question was the one conferred upon the former on the occasion of his investiture with the dress of honor, which was received at the court of Delhi in 757.

114.—Gold. 167 grs. Small coin. Date 788.

Obv. سلطاني فيروز شاد—

R.—۷۸۸ نايب امير المؤمنين

115.—Silver and copper mixed. 141 grs. Date 773.

Obv. فيروز شاه سلطاني صربت بحضرت دهلي—

R.—۷۷۳ التحليفة امير المؤمنين خلد خلافته

116.—Copper and silver. 136 grs. Date 791.

Obv. فيروز شاه ظفر سلطاني صربت بحضرت دهلي—

R.—۷۹۱ التحليفة ابو عبد الله خلد خلافته

117.—Silver and copper. 54 grs.

Obv. فيروز شاه سلطاني خلد ملکه—

R.— التحليفة ابو الفتح خلد خلافته—

118.—Silver and copper. 140 grs. Date 784.

Obv. as No. 114.

R.—۷۸۴ التحليفة ابو عبد الله خلد خلافته

119.—Copper. 68 grs.

Obv. as No. 118.

R.— دار الملك دهلي—

120.—Copper. 36 grs.

Obv. فيروز سلطاني—

R.— بحضرت دهلي—

121.—Copper. 55 grs.

Obr. فیروز شاہ سلطانی۔

R.—ابو العباس احمد۔

122 and 123.—Coins similar in types and legends to No. 115, bear respectively the dates ۸۱۶ 816, and ۸۱۷ 817.

The appearance of two coins, dated severally *twenty-six* and *twenty-seven* years subsequent to the decease of the monarch whose name they bear, is not a little remarkable. Adverting to the previous history of Moslem Asiatic nations, the simple fact of the fabrication of money, displaying the titles of any given sovereign, continuing for a brief period immediately following his death, occasions no surprise: hence No. 116 is readily accepted as a posthumous coin of this class; but the lapse of more than a quarter of a century observable in the instances of Nos. 122 and 123, in placing these pieces so much beyond the limit usually admissible in parallel cases, leads to an enquiry whether unusual causes may not have led to their production. It is known that the issue of this species of coinage, though probably not *completely* serial, was renewed at divers times between the fixed periods of 790 and 816, as evidenced by specimens extant in the possession of Captain Cunningham, bearing dates 801 and 804.

The facts available, together with the unassailable evidence of the coins themselves, seem to necessitate a conclusion that, during the whole, or a portion of each of the years 801, 804, 816, and 817, if not during many of the intermediate ones, the dominant possessor of the city of Delhi issued money in the name of a previous king; ensuring, by this means, at the very least, a ready and unquestioned circulation of the coinage thus put forth, the counterpart of which must, at the time, have formed the

bulk of the circulating medium of the Delhí empire. As, however, this inference involves the deduction that either these parties coined no money in their own names, or, striking money of their own, were careless of this usually highly-prized right, it becomes necessary to examine whether it is possible that the individuals who, at each of these several marked periods held sway in the metropolis of Hindústán, should have submitted to the use of the titles of other kings on money issuing from the mint over which they maintained control. As regards the epochs of 801 and 804, it is to be remarked, that after the departure of Tímúr, and the subsequent speedy expulsion of Nusserut Sháh, the city of Delhí passed into the hands of Mullú Yekbal Khán, who retained possession of the town till his death, in 807. Though this chief acted entirely on his own account, and, as will be shown hereafter, considerably augmented his territories, it is nowhere asserted that he either coined money in his own name, or assumed any of the usual insignia of royalty. A difficulty might suggest itself in this place, in the fact of the continued existence of Mahmúd, a monarch duly inaugurated on the throne of Hindústán, who had fled to Guzrát on the capture of the metropolis by the Moghuls. Yekbal Khán does not, however, appear at any period after the departure of the Moghul host, to have, either directly or indirectly, acknowledged Mahmúd as sultan; indeed, it is by no means unlikely, that during the early part of his own independent rule, he should actually have discouraged any such recognition. It may, therefore, be assumed as highly probable, that to supply the currency requisite for the ordinary monetary transactions of his people, Yekbal Khán, having no pretence to strike coin in his own name, and no predilection to perpetuate the name of a king he was in effect supplanting, may have adopted the

expedient of issuing pieces similar to those of Firúz, and still emblazoned with his titles; the like of which, to judge by the present comparative abundance of the specimens extant, must have formed a very considerable proportion of the total currency of the day. Referring to the period comprised in the two years 816 and 817, it is singular that during the first fifteen months of this time, it is also, at the least, doubtful whether any *king* reigned in Delhi. Mahmúd dying in 815, left no successor to the throne: the chief power in the state shortly afterwards fell to the lot of Daulat Khán Lodí: his actual assumption of regal honors, however, despite the directly expressed assertion of Ferishtah to that effect, is at the best highly problematical. This point, also, will be more fully noticed in its proper place; in the meantime, it may be adverted to as possibly bearing directly upon the present enquiry, in respect to the hitherto inexplicable non-discovery of any money displaying the name of the ruler in question. Daulat Khán surrendered to Khizr Khán in the third month of 817 A.H. Here, again, it is perhaps doing no violence to probabilities, remarking both the absence of any extant coin of Daulat Khán conjoined with the doubt of his kingship, and the clear testimony of the dates on coins Nos. 122, 123, to suppose that this chief, in imitation of the practice of a predecessor, issued coin in the name of Firúz.

COINS BEARING THE JOINT NAMES OF FIRUZ AND HIS SON ZIFFER.

124.—Copper and silver. 78 grs.

Obo. فیروز شاد ظفر ابن فیروز شاد—

R. ابو عبد الله خلدت خلانته—

125.—Silver and copper. 78 grs. Coin bearing similar legends to the above, but the produce of different dies.

The above coins are, it will be seen, struck in the joint names of Fírúz and his son Ziffer: as it is known that Fírúz, in 760 A.H., conferred "the ensigns of royalty on his son, Futteh Khán," and that Mohammed, the second son, was, in 789 A.H., raised to the throne during the life-time of his father, it is by no means improbable that, in the like spirit, the third son should have been allowed to adopt so much of kingly rank as was implied in the exhibition of his name on the coinage, in the government over which he presided. There is much obscurity prevailing in Ferishtah, consequent upon an apparent confusion of two different persons bearing the title of Ziffer Khán. It is not perhaps requisite to enter into a detailed enquiry on the subject, as, notwithstanding the uncertainty which of necessity remains, there seems to be but little question, that the prince now sought to be identified, was the *Ziffer Khán*, governor of Mahobah (Bundelkund), who was so hastily despatched by the vizir on the occasion of the attack upon the latter's house by the Prince Mohammed, in 789 A.H.

TWENTY-FIRST KING (A.H. 790—791; A.D. 1388—1389).

The rule of Ghiás ud din Tuglak II. demands but brief notice, its events being told in the record, on the one hand, of the lax indulgence of the monarch, and, on the other, of his unavailing pursuit of the late joint-king Násir ud din. The sultan, having alarmed the nobles of his own court, a conspiracy was formed which put a period to his life and sway, little more than five months after his first attainment of the latter.

126.—Silver and copper. 136 grs. A.H. 790.

Obr.—**تغلق شاد سلطانی ضربت بخشت دہلی**

R.—**الخليفة أبو عبد الله خلدت خلافته**

127.—Silver and copper. 80 grs.

Obv. شاه سلطاني خلد ملك.—
تغلق شاه سلطاني خلد ملك.

R. ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته.—
ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته.

128.—Copper. 68 grs.

Obv. شاه سلطاني.—
تغلق شاه سلطاني.
R. دار الملك دهلي.—
دار الملك دهلي.

TWENTY-SECOND KING (A.H. 791—793; A.D. 1389—1390).

Abúbékir, the son of Ziffer, and grandson of Firúz, was raised to the throne on the death of Tuglak II. The history of this reign is also comprised in but few words, being marked almost solely by the successful counteraction by the king, of the treasonable designs of his vizir, followed by the advance of Násir ud din; who, after various intermediate turns of fortune, once again sat on the throne of his father.

129.—Silver and copper. 134 grs. A.H. 791.

Obv. ابو بكر شاه بن خلف بن فیروز شاه سلطاني.—
ابو بكر شاه بن خلف بن فیروز شاه سلطاني.
R. التمیمه ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته ٧٩١
التمیمه ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته.

Coin of this type are extant bearing the several dates of 791, as above, and 792, and 793, A.H.

130.—Copper. 114 grs.

Obv. — In a square area ابو بكر شاه
ظاهر بن فیروز شاه سلطاني
Marg. — نایب امیر المومنین ٧٩٢

R. —

131.—Copper. 155 grs. Imperfect

Obv. — In a circular area ابو بكر شاه

Marg. — فیروز شاد — — —

R. as No. 130.

132.—Silver and copper. 47 grs. Small coin, obverse and reverse legends similar to No. 129.

133.—Copper. 58 grs.

Obv.— ابو بکر شاد ظفر سلطانی

R.—الخليفة ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

TWENTY-THIRD KING (A.H. 793—796; A.D. 1390—1394).

The supremacy of Násir ud din Mohammed as sole monarch of Hindústán, which dates properly from Ramzán, 793, to Rubbi us Sani, 796, does not offer much matter for remark.

In the early part of the reign, the governor of Guzrát rebelled, but was subdued by the sultan's generals; as also were the Rahtor Rájpúts, who shortly afterwards attempted to throw off their allegiance. Doubts having been suggested as to the faith of his vizir, the emperor hastened to meet the difficulty, and, by prompt action, secured himself against the possible consequences. A fever, aggravated by the exertions it was necessary to make to suppress an insurrection in Mewát, brought the career of this monarch to a close.

134.—Silver. 173 grs. (*Marsden's Cabinet, B.M.*)

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم ابوالمجاهد محمد شاه فیروز شاد سلطانی

The most mighty sovereign, Abúl Muhámed, Mohammed Sháh, (son of) the royal Firúz Sháh.

R.—في زمان الام امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته

In the time of the Imám, commander of the faithful. May his khalifat endure.

135.—Impure silver. 167 grs. Date 795.

Obv.—محمد شاه فیروز شاد سلطانی

R.—Centre ابو عبد الله

Marg.—٧٩٥ خلدت خلافته ضربت بحضرت دہلی

136.—Silver and copper. 140 grs. Date 793. (Others are dated 794 and 795.)

Obr. محمد شاه فیروز شاه سلطان.—

R.—٧٩٣ الحلیفه ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

137.—Copper. 140 grs. Date 793 II.

Obr. محمد شاه

Marg. ضریت بحضرت دہلی.—

R.—٧٩٣ نایب امیر المؤمنین

138.—Copper. 68 grs. Small coin. 793.

Obr. محمد شاه سلطانی.—

R.—٧٩٣ دار الملك دہلی

139.—Copper. 52 grs.

Obr. محمد شاه فیروز شاه سلطان.—

R.— - - الحلیفه ابو عبد الله

TWENTY-FOURTH KING (A.H. 796; A.D. 1394).

Humáyún, the son of Násir ud din, assumed, on his accession, the designation of Sekunder Shah. The historical record of the rule of this sovereign is confined to the announcement, that he attained regal honors and enjoyed them for the brief space of forty-five days.

140.—Silver and copper mixed. 142 grs. Date 795.²³

Obr. سکندر شاه محمد شاه سلطانی.—

R.—٧٩٥ الحلیفه ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

²³ The unit numeral on coin No. 140, displays a singular form of the figure *five*: it is somewhat strange to find this novel style of the figure in use almost simultaneously with the old five, to be

141.—Copper. 134 grs. Date 795.

Obv.—*Centre شاہ سکندر**Marg.* — — *حضرت**R.*—*٧٩٥ نایب امیر المؤمنین*

observed on coin No. 135, which has, up to this time, been in no way distinguishable from a naught, as disclosed on No. 126. It is certainly possible that, in this particular instance, the employment of the unit numeral on the second coin may refer to the naught of 790, during part of which year Nasir ud din Mohammed was the effectivo sultan, in nominal conjunction with his father Firuz; but there are many reasons for doubting the probability that the coin in question shloud have been produced under the joint auspices of Firuz and Mohammed. Be this as it may, there can be no difficulty in admitting the fact, that the figure more immediately under notice represents a five, as both its present and its subsequent use clearly demonstrate that it can be no other numeral.

It is here necessary to rectify an error which has occurred in the assignment of the value of a numeral similar to that now referred to, which is to be seen occupying the place of the terminal figure of the annual date on the coin of Umur, No. 63. On a hasty examination, and adverting more particularly to the hitherto unquestioned date of the accession of this prince (716 A.H.), the late period in the year at which this event was placed, as well as to the brief duration of the reign itself, which barely extended into a second year, the value of this strange figure was accepted with little hesitation from the requirements of written history. Added to this, the absence of any apparent similitude with any of the other nine recognised numerals, and the facile transition from the correctly formed Persian ۱ to a character having a final flourish instead of an accurately prolonged perpendicular termination, seemed to explain the process whence the numeral derived its origin. The present collation of a more extensive series of specimens, bearing this character in a but slightly altered form, led to a doubt as to the due identification of its functions in the previous instance; and the result of this investigation has proved most decisively that whatever may have been the derivation, or the original design which attended the use of the figure, its subsequent emploment could only refer to the number *five*. Marsden (p. 550) had already shown that a somewhat similar symbol was used to represent this number towards the close of the supremacy of the Afghán dynasty in India; and now, tracing this numeral in its little varied shape, upwards through the well-developed instances afforded by the coins of Behlól, Sekunder, and others, there remains no

142.—Copper. 67 grs.

سکندر شاه سلطانی۔

دارالملک دہلی ۵۷۹

TWENTY-FIFTH KING (A.H. 796—815; A.D. 1394—1413).

On the death of Sekunder Sháh, the nobles of the court elevated to the musnud his brother, Mahmúd, a minor. The very commencement of this nominal supremacy was marked by misfortunes; and the real weakness of the empire was increased by insurrections which sprang up on all sides: among the rest is to be noticed the important defection of the vizir, Khwaja Jehán, who, in this act, founded

possible obstacle to the recognition of its use in a similar signification on the coin of Umur. On the other hand, in the progress of the enquiry resulting from the attempt to verify the history of the Patán domination in Hindústán, too much reason has been found to distrust Ferishtah's accuracy, to make it necessary to pause in discrediting his *given date* in the present instance. In conclusion, it may be appropriate to endeavour to trace the derivation of this anomalous form of the Persian *c.* Admitting a difficulty previously noticed, regarding the want of sufficient distinction between the Persian *a naught* and the *a five* once in use at Delhi, it is not improbable that the necessity of a more obvious means of discriminating the expression of these two numbers may have led to the adoption of the more purely local Devanagri *U five*, as a substitute for the Indo-Persian form of that figure. The Nágri *five* approximates closely, especially in its cursive shape, to the early style of the adaptation of the numeral displayed on coin No. 63; but the *five* on the coins of Shír and Islám is so far changed that, read as a Nágri figure, it would stand for a very correct *six*. A figure but slightly differing from the form employed on the coins of Shír is known to have supplied the place of a *four* on the Turkish money of the twelfth century A.H., and many of our modern founts of Persian type possess no other representative of this number. An instance of its use may be seen in the printed description of coin No. 95.

the temporarily powerful kingdom of Jánpúr. In 797 A.H., a new claimant to the throne was advanced, in the person of Nuserut Khán, a son of Futteh Khán, and grandson of Firúz; and his supporters actually took and retained possession of the new portion of the capital denominated Firúzábád, while Mahmúd and his followers held the old town of Delhí. In this anomalous state matters continued for the space of three years, each being in a measure king, and each holding his own dependent provinces of the empire: meanwhile, constant and sanguinary encounters occurred between the troops of the rival factions. At length, Mullú Yekbál Khan, who, in fit keeping with the whole of this strange proceeding, had remained an observant and neutral spectator, first deceived, and, for the time, ruined Nuserut Sháh, and then succeeded in getting possession of the person of Mahmúd, in whose name he thenceforth pretended to rule. This uncertain government was however put an end to by the advance of the celebrated Tímúr: the defeat of the Indian army, the surrender and subsequent merciless sack of Delhí followed; and, for five days, the Moghul conqueror continued feasting while his troops destroyed; and, to finish the inconsistency, "on the day of his departure he offered up to the Divine Majesty his sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise." The capital of Hindústáu remained in a state of complete anarchy, to which were superadded the horrors of famine and pestilence, for the space of two months after the departure of Tímúr: at the end of this period, it was taken possession of by Nuserut Sháh, and, shortly afterwards, it again passed into the hands of Mullú Yekbál Khán, whose sway at this time, extended but little beyond its walls: the provinces being, in effect, independent under their several governors, who, one and all, styled themselves kings. Yekbál Khán,

nevertheless, succeeded in gradually enlarging his boundaries; and, in 804, was joined by Mahmúd (who had fled at the sack of Delhí to Guzrát), on whom he bestowed his protection and *a pension*. Yekbál Khán now undertook an expedition against Ibrahím Sháh Sherkí, the sultán of Jánpur; and Mahmúd, thinking to improve his own condition, went over to Ibrahim: he was, however, received with but small encouragement, and, finally, was allowed by both parties to establish himself as a sort of local king of Kanój. On the death of Yekbál Khán, which took place in an action with Khizr Khán, the governor of Multún, Mahmúd was again invited to Delhí; but "deficient both in sense and courage," he made but little profit of his new position, and at last died in Zulkád, 815.²⁴

²⁴ The date of the death of Mahmúd is fixed by Ferishtah at the 11th Zulkád, 814 A.H.; and the assumption of power by Daulat Khán Lodi, is affirmed, by the same author, to have taken place on the 1st of Muhurruim, 816. A difficulty is suggested in the very fact of the capital, and the country dependent upon it, having, as thus shown, remained for fourteen months without even a nominal ruler: this anomaly, moreover, is not attempted to be met by the writer in question, nor is even its existence noticed. (See Briggs, vol. i. page 504; Elphinstone, vol. ii. page 80).

The *Tubkat Akberí* gives the following explanation of the circumstances and dates bearing upon the matter, which, in satisfactorily accounting for what Ferishtah has left unexplained, seems, in so doing, to point out his error, as having arisen from a substitution of the year 814 for 815, as the period of the decease of Mahmúd:—

"After the death of Mahmúd, in Zulkad, 815, for two months anarchy prevailed in Delhí, when the nobles of that prince entered into a compact with Daulat Khan, and Mulik Ardríz and Mubáriz Khán passed over from Khizr Khán and joined Daulat Khan," etc.

The *Mirát ul Alem* also gives 815 as the year of Mahmúd's death; though it openly mentions some uncertainty as existing in regard to the extent of his reign, which is noted at "twenty or twenty-two years and two months."

143.—Silver. 174 grs.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم ابو الماجامد محمود شاه محمد شاد فیروز.—The most mighty sovereign Abúl Muhámed Mahmúd Sháh, (son of) Mohammed Sháh, (son of) the royal Fírúz Sháh.

R.—في زمان الا امام امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته.—In the time of the Imám, commander of the faithful. May his khalifat endure.

144.—Silver (impure). 141 grs. Date 796.

Obv.—محمود شاه محمد شاد سلطاني.—

R.—الخليفة ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته ٧٩٦

145.—Copper. 140 grs. Date 813.

Obv.—Centre شاه محمود

Marg. illegible.

R.—نایب امیر المؤمنین ٨١٣

146.—Copper. 56 grs.

Obv.—Legend as No. 144.

R.—الخليفة امیر المؤمنین خلدت خلافته

147.—Copper. 68 grs. Date 815 A.H. (See note ²⁴.)

Obv.—محمود شاه سلطاني.—

R.—دار الملك دهلي ٨١٥

TWENTY-SIXTH KING (A.H. 797; A.D. 1395).

The history of the partial sovereignty of Nuserut Sháh, including both his three years' possession of Fírúzabad, and his momentary occupation of the metropolis after the departure of Timúr, has been sufficiently adverted to in the notice of the reign of Mahmúd.

From 802, Nuserut Sháh appears to have been lost sight

of by Indian historians, though his coin, No. 151, would seem to indicate at least a temporary renewal of his power in 807 H.

148.—Copper. 143 grs.

Obv.—نصرت شاد سلطاني۔

R.—نایب امیر المؤمنین۔

149.—Copper. 57 grs.

Obv.—نصرت شاد سلطاني۔

R.—دار الملك دهلي۔

150.—Copper. 67 grs. Date 797.

Obv. as above.

R.—دار الملك دهلي۔

151.—Copper. 67 grs. Date 807. Similar to No. 150.

Other coins bear date 798.

TWENTY-SEVENTH KING (A.H. 815—817; 1413—1414).

Whatever may have been the nominal designation under which Daulat Khán Lodí held the government of Delhí, the actual power pertaining to his office, whether monarchical or oligarchical, seems to have been but limited. Of the fifteen months allotted by historians as the duration of his chieftainship, eleven were occupied in petty attempts to extend his confined boundaries, and the remaining four were passed in suffering a siege, in the citadel of Delhí, and vainly opposing the arms of Khizr Khán, who, at the end of this time, succeeded in putting an end to the somewhat doubtful sovereignty of his adversary.

The absence of any specimens of the coinage of Daulat

Khán Lodí can hardly be said to cause surprise: on the one hand, his circumscribed rule and embarrassed circumstances must have gone far to limit any fabrication of his individual coins, and, on the other, the plunder of the metropolis and the surrounding country by the hordes of Timúr must, as it depopulated, have utterly for the time impoverished the narrow dominion over which alone Daulat Khán held sway. This country, moreover, was peculiarly the portion of all Hindústán the most afflicted by the inroad of the Moghuls. Added to this, were it not for the direct assertion of Ferishtah, that Daulat Khán assumed royal insignia, and struck coin in his own name, the tenor of the narrations of other authors might suggest some doubt on the subject:²⁵ a doubt that is naturally increased by the discovery of two coins impressed with the name of another monarch, struck in the capital of which Daulat Khán was nominal lord, and dated one in each of the years during nearly the whole of the first, and a portion of the second, of which his sway endured.

XI.

ROMAN REMAINS, FARLEY HEATH.

DURING a brief visit, on the 15th of this month, to Martin F. Tupper, Esq., of Albury, in Surrey, we made an excursion to the site of the Ancient Roman Station at Farley Heath, which is within an hour's walk of my friend's residence.¹

²⁵ Abúl Fazl does not allow Daulat Lodí a place in the list of the monarchs of Hindústán, though he mentions that the government was held by this chief for a limited period.

¹ An account of some former discoveries in 1839 and 1840, will be found in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. iii. p. 83, com-

Our time being necessarily limited, our investigations did not proceed beyond a foot or two below the surface of the ground, and over but a small space of the supposed area of the station or camp; but our labours were rewarded with the discovery of three small brass Roman Coins, several pieces of the red Samian ware (chiefly of the ivy-leaf pattern), two fragments of pale green glass, *half* of a glass bead of a dark green colour with a wavy stripe of opaque white running through it, a rude bronze ring, a number of corroded iron nails, a boar's tusk, &c. Two of the coins are of the emperors Constantius and Theodosius, of common types; the third is of doubtful appropriation, from its having been double struck and blundered. That of Constantius is in fine preservation, and covered with a light green patina. The soil abounds with the bones of various animals, together with the remains of *burnt* bones supposed to be human. A large quantity of tiles, and pieces of brick and cement, and many small fragments of funereal urns, are strewn over the place; though mostly hidden by the turf, and in some degree obstructing the labours of the spade, Mr. Tupper has at intervals paid several visits to this spot, and generally with success,² as his collection, preserved at Albury, will testify;—and there is no doubt that an abundant harvest yet awaits the patient and laborious investigator.

B. N.

20th September, 1847.

municated by Mr. Tupper. A detailed notice of his Farley-heath Coins is also recorded in Brayley's recently published "History of Surrey."

² Among the more recent acquisitions are several broken stone-weapons, a burnt flint celt, two carefully-rounded stones (evidently intended for slinging), and a portion of Roman tile, indented by the tread of a wolf or mastiff.

MISCELLANEA.

SALE OF THE LATE COLONEL DURRANT'S COINS.—Our readers will doubtless have observed that it is not our practice to take notice of coin sales. We abstain from doing so, from a feeling that our province is rather to illustrate coins by their bearing upon history and ancient mythology, than to furnish information as to their marketable value, for the guidance of those who buy or sell them. Nevertheless, as it will probably be expected of us that we should say a few words relative to the sale of the late Colonel Durrant's Cabinet, which took place on the 19th of April, and following days, we shall in this instance make a slight deviation from our general rule, but still without departing from its spirit.

The great bulk of the collection consisted of English coins, commencing with Egbert the first, sole, or rather chief monarch. There were moreover some very good specimens of the coinages of Scotland and Ireland, three fine early British coins in gold, and some choice medals; but no classical or foreign coins, nor any of the numerous varieties from the Regal or Ecclesiastical mints of the English Heptarchy.

The series prior to the Norman Conquest, was not so complete as to varieties of type as perhaps might have been expected, or as exists in some other private Cabinets of the present day. The collection subsequent to the Conquest was much more ample and rich. The gold series is probably surpassed, both in variety and excellence, by one or two other collections in private hands; but the silver, in which lay the chief strength of the Cabinet, was, as a whole, quite unrivalled in regard to condition. In the whole sale there was hardly a single inferior coin in this metal, while very many specimens had the reputation, and we believe justly, of being the first of their class. Condition, in fact, was the grand feature of the Cabinet. It contained throughout little that was unique, or not before known, but was remarkable for an extraordinary number of specimens of types, for the most part abundantly familiar, but not to be found elsewhere in such high preservation.

The series of patterns, though we believe it to be less extensive, as a whole, than that in at least one other Cabinet, was highly remarkable for beauty. It comprised an exquisite specimen of the celebrated Petition Crown, by Thomas Simon, with others of his works; the series of patterns for the Commonwealth money, by Ramage and Blondeau (of which we believe only three entire sets

exist in private Cabinets, and of these, two were completed from the present one), with many by Briot, Rawlins, and more recent artists. The collection of patterns for the early copper coinage was perhaps the richest in any collection, except that in the British Museum.

A large proportion of the best pieces in the collection were procured by Colonel Durrant at the sale of the Tyssen Cabinet in 1802; and at the dispersion of the Hollis, Dimsdale, and Trattle Collections, much of the choicest of their contents came into his possession.

The public sale of such a Cabinet of course attracted nearly every collector of note to the rooms of Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson, and, as might be expected, the competition ran throughout very high. The whole amount of the sale was £3,405 13s. 6d., a sum which we believe to be equal to the cost of the collection to its late proprietor, notwithstanding a considerable loss on the gold, and especially on the Anglo-Gallie coins, which latter, it is well known, have of late years become much more easily procurable than they were formerly. This depreciation was however compensated by the increased value of the silver, of which a remarkable instance may be given in a set of Oliver's money, consisting of the crown, half-crown, shilling, and nine-pence. These four pieces were bought by Colonel Durrant, in one lot, at the sale of Tyssen's Duplicates, in December 1802, for four guineas, and now, when sold separately, produce no less a sum than £25 17s. 6d. It is however hardly necessary to caution our readers, that the prices frequently given at the public-sale of well-known collections, like that of which we are writing, are by no means a fair criterion of the average marketable value of the coins under ordinary circumstances; and for that reason, as well as from the motive which we stated at the outset of our remarks, we restrain from giving any list of the sums produced by the more remarkable pieces. Such a list would only mislead the uninstructed; to the initiated it would be of little utility; while to the designing and the knave it would give facilities for extortion. Every dealer in London knows full well that prices are frequently given at public sales, the half of which he would find it utterly impossible to obtain for the identical piece in the regular way of business.

HALFPENCE OF GEORGE II.—The following is from the Northampton Mercury of December 28th, 1730.

"London, December 24th, 1730.

"A few days past have appear'd some new half-pence of King George II. in which, by some great error, the R in Georgius is omitted."

And in the same paper another paragraph appears, stating that

" An effectual stop is put to the going of the counterfeit half-pence made of the base metal, which have gone so current throughout this realm for several years last past, which has been occasioned by the makers delivering out six shillings worth of halfpence, for five shillings in silver, so that both town and country is full of the same."

E. P.

ANGEL OF HENRY THE 7TH, WITH THE LEGEND OF THE NOBLE.—Sir,—Among the French pieces in a lot of gold coins, lately found in this neighbourhood, were a few angels of Henry VIII., and on looking them over I noticed one which I do not find mentioned in your Numismatic Manual, and therefore take the liberty of annexing the description, and requesting your opinion as to its rarity.

The R presents what I presume to be the particularity of this piece, which has the ship with the usual cross for a mast, whereon is suspended the shield of arms, above which the letter N and a Rose, the mint mark on both sides, a thistle, and the legend IHC. AVT. TRANSIES. PE. MEDIV. ILLOR. IB. instead of PER CRUCEM, etc.; each of these words is separated by a small rose.

I should say that this piece is of Henry VII., it not having the numerals VIII., as are generally found on those of his successor.

I am not able to state exactly if this coin was found with others about four miles from this, in an old house in the country, or if it was found in the harbour of this place, where, in course of deepening, several Portuguese pieces were also found about a fortnight since.

ALFRED STUBBS.

Boulogne-sur-mer, 12th May, 1847.

[The legend of this coin is remarkable, being that of the noble. Our correspondent appears to be right in assuming it to be of Henry VII. There was a similar piece in the Durrant sale, but from the price it brought, it does not appear to be highly valued. Allowance however must be made for the caprice of collectors.—ED. N. C.]

BIRMINGHAM FORgeries OF TURKISH MONEY.—The following appeared in the Times Police Report of September 16th:—

"The Police have received information that the Turkish Government have discovered that during the last three or four years immense quantities of counterfeit piastres have been circulated in the Turkish dominions. The amount of spurious coin thus introduced is said not to fall far short of 100,000*l.* The Turkish authorities having at last obtained such a clue to the offenders as to induce them to believe that the manufactory of false piastres was at Birmingham, carried on by a person named Darwen, in

conjunction with others, made application to the British Government, and the result was that the detective police were instructed to take the matter in hand. After much patient inquiry they succeeded in procuring such an amount of evidence against Darwen as has led to his commitment at Birmingham recently."

It is to be hoped that these investigations will be rigorously pursued by the proper authorities. The result will probably be the discovery of a manufactory of spurious gold pagodas and other imitations of moneys current in the East Indies, of which we have often seen specimens.—ED. N. C.

CORRESPONDENCE.

B.—The “New Edition of Ruding” was, we believe, published originally in Five-shilling Parts, but it is now to be had at a much lower price. The first volume was *re-printed almost verbatim*, and must have woefully disappointed the subscribers. The second contains many corrections, and has, besides, a most ample and useful Index, compiled by the editor of the latter portion of this edition.

G. S., York.—Pinkerton’s “Essay on Medals,” will always be read for amusement; but it is full of egregious blunders, and is disfigured by the peculiar style and manner of the writer. Some of the coins engraved are notoriously false ones; nevertheless, the book will continue to have readers. All the coins mentioned by G. S. are very common, and will be found, with varieties of the same type, in the second volume of Banduri.

N.—The piece engraved in “*Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes*,” plate xxii. No. 2, is, there cannot be a doubt, of one of the princes or chiefs of the Atrebati. We have lately seen an example of very similar type which was also found in Hampshire.

A. C.—A coin of Berœa. These pieces are very common, but of some interest. A specimen is engraved in the “Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament.” A dealer will procure you a genuine coin of Ephesus. The coin of Syria in Generc is not uncommon.

Messrs. Sotheby and Company have announced for sale, in the ensuing Spring, the Pembroke collection of Coins, described in the well-known volume entitled—“*Numismata Antiqua, in tres partes divisa. Colligit olim et ari incidi vivens curavit Thomas Pembrochiae et Montis Gomerici Comes. Prelo demum mandabantur, A.D. MDCCXLVI.*”

G. H.—Our business is to chronicle facts relating to Numismatic Science, and not to notice the dishonest practices of the covetous. We believe it needs no remark of ours to make known the fact, that in the recent sale of a somewhat extensive cabinet of Coins were found many pieces that had been missed at public sales, coins in inferior preservation having been substituted. But this is not all; *the collector had the audacity to record the dishonest exchange in a catalogue kept by himself, and left behind him at his death!* Will the executors publish that catalogue? It would bo a great literary curiosity.

G. W.—The coin discovered in the foundation of a temple in Ceylon, is of *Sri mat Sāhasa Malla*, king of that Island, A.D. 1205. See the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. vi. p. 298.





9. G.



14. S.



15. S.



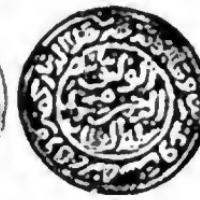
12. B.



13. S.



10. G.

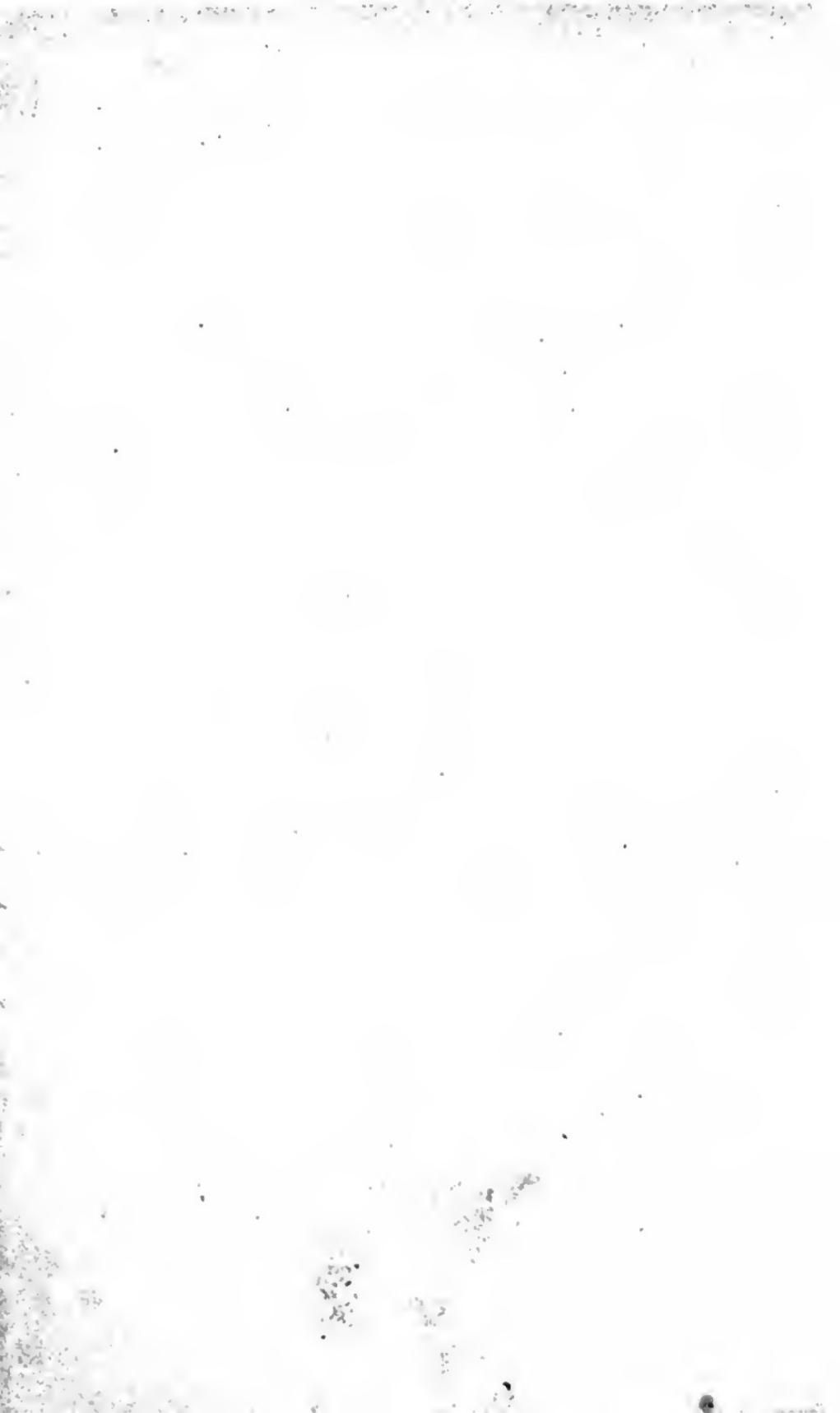


11. G.



16. S.





1. S.



2. S.



3. S.



4. G.



5. G.



6. S.



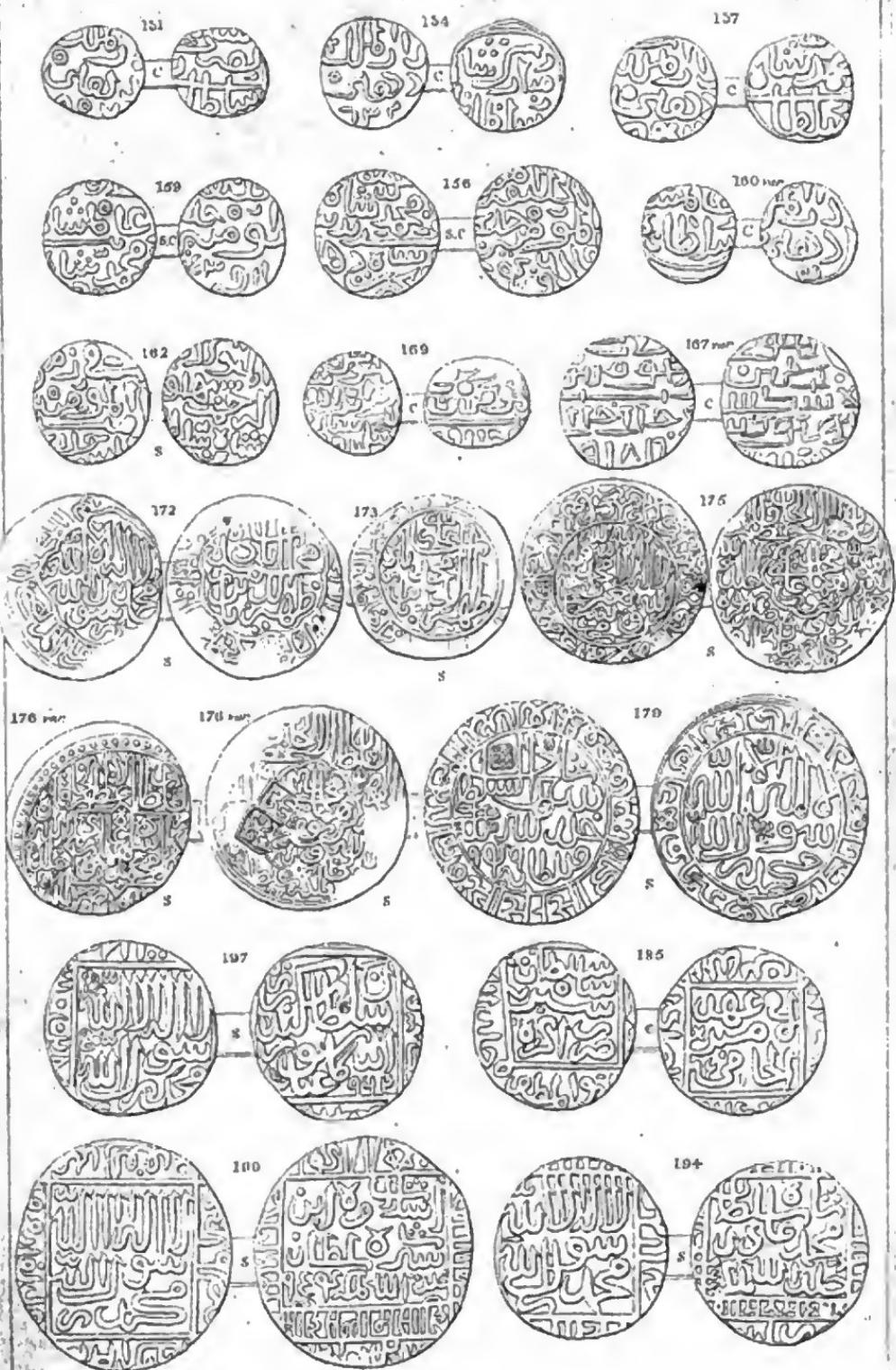
7. S.



8. C.







COINS OF THE PATAN SULTANS OF HINDOSTAN.

XII.

COINS OF THE PATÁN, AFGHÁN OR GHORÍ SULTANS
OF HINDÚSTÁN (DELHÍ).

(Continued from page 143.)

TWENTY-EIGHTH KING (A.H. 817—824; A.D. 1414—1421).

Khizr Khán's accession to the dignity of ruler of the imperial city and the small tract now subject to it, in adding thereto his own governmental provinces of the Punjáb, had the effect of again increasing the importance of the empire of the metropolis. Khizr having accepted service under Timúr, and having held his government of Multan, etc., from that conqueror, continued to acknowledge the supremacy of the dynasty of the Moghul after he had himself obtained possession of the capital. The new viceroy was enabled to assert a sway much more extended than could have been expected from the unsatisfactory state to which the monarchy of Delhí had been reduced consequent upon the inroad of Timúr; and his power, though unequal, was sufficiently recognised according to Indian notions of government. At his death, he was in a condition to secure the peaceful transmission of his honors to his son, Mubárik, who, apparently with the sanction of the nobles of the court, again revived the kingly style.

The following extracts show that Khizr Khán, in declining to assume the title of sultan, restrained from exercising that first of Oriental privileges of sovereignty, involved in the inscription of his own name on the money of the country.

It would certainly have been satisfactory, in referring to the subjoined assertions of the acknowledgment of Timúr

and his successor, to have been able to have cited direct numismatic proof of the Moghul supremacy in Hindústán : however, it is probable that Khizr Khán did not needlessly multiply such records of his own subservience.

" He refrained from assuming royal titles, and gave out that he held the government for Timúr, in whose name he caused the coin to be struck and the Khutba to be read. After the death of Timúr, the Khutba was read in the name of his successor, Sháh Rokh Mírza; to whom he sometimes even sent tribute at his capital of Samarkand."—*Briggs' Ferishtah*, vol. i. page 508.

" Khizr Khán, out of gratitude to his benefactor, Timúr, did not assume the title of sultan, but continued to have the Khotbah read in the name of that monarch, contenting himself with being styled Ayauté Áála, or The Most High in Dignity. At the death of Timúr, the Khotbah was read in the name of his successor, Sháh Rokh, concluding with a prayer for the prosperity of Khizr Khán."—*Gladwin's Ayin-i Akberi*.

TWENTY-NINTH KING (A.H. 824—839; A.D. 1421—1435).

The annals of the period during which the now re-established throne of Delhi was filled by Muaz ud din Mubárik, are distinguished by a little varying succession of efforts on the part of the sovereign to repress the continual revolts of his subjects: prominent among these is to be noticed the pertinacious and daring opposition of Jusserut Gukka, who, during the thirteen years of Mubúrik's reign, appeared in arms and fought well contested campaigns no less than six several times. The rebellion of Foulád is also noticeable, not so much on account of its own intrinsic importance as from the disastrous results which attended the introduction of the Moghul auxiliaries of Ali, the governor of Kábúl on the part of Sháh Rokh, whose aid was invoked by Foulád as a means of extricating himself from

his own difficulties. Mubárik was assassinated in 839, by a band of Hindús employed for that purpose by his own vizir.

152.—²⁵

153.—Copper. 172 grs.

Obv.—*Area شاه مبارک**Marg.*—*سلطان فریت بخیرت دهلي**R.*—*۸۲۵ نائب امير المؤمنین*

154.—Copper. 80 grs.

Obv.—*سلطان مبارک شاد**R.*—*۸۲۵ دارالملك دهلي*

155.—Copper. 40 grs.

Obv.—*مبارک شاد**Marg.*—*بخیرت*

²⁵ The electrotype cast of the coin figured as No. 152, was placed in the hands of the engraver before an opportunity was afforded of submitting it to any critical examination, under the impression that the original was an unquestionable coin of Muaz ud din Mubárik. On a closer scrutiny, the name of the mint city (the capital of eastern Bengal), and the surviving word of the date (*50), are found to render this assignment somewhat dubious; over and above this difficulty, the question as to whom the coin really does belong, is not readily soluble by the evidence of written history, inasmuch as the kingdom of Bengal is stated to have been held by Háji Iliás from 744 to 760 (Stewart, pp. 83, 86; Briggs, vol. iv. p. 331); and from 830 to 862, by Nasir Sháli (Stewart, p. 100); or, according to Ferishtah, by Yusuf, from 849 to 866 (Briggs, vol. iv. p. 339). Under these circumstances, the bare description of the coin is appended without further comment.

Silver. 162 grs. U. (*Dr. Siciney*).*Obv.*—*السلطان الاعظم معز (فتح) الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر مباركشاہ السلطان**R.*—*Area يمبن الجلینه ناصر امير المؤمنین**Marg.*—*سکہ بخیرت جلال سنار کا نو سنہ خمسین و**At the royal capital, Sunargaon, year * 50.*

THIRTIETH KING (A.H. 839—849; A.D. 1435—1444).

On the death of Mubárik, the vizir, assassin of that monarch, elevated as his puppet king, Mohammed bin Feríd, a grandson of Khizr Khán. The first cares of the minister were directed to engrossing the various governmental posts for his own creatures: this purpose, too little concealed, of necessity created dissatisfaction and distrust, and speedily resulted in a very general insurrection; and, within a brief period of the apparent full success of his iniquity, the Hindú vizir found his power limited to the walls of the citadel of the metropolis, in which he was now closely besieged. The sultan, too, his protégé, was also discovered to be seeking an opportunity of joining the adverse party. In this crisis, the vizir determined upon the murder of the sultan; but the latter receiving timely intimation of the design, was able to overpower the vizir's band with a well-prepared guard, and thus he met the fate he designed for his lord. Not long after this, the emperor began to give himself up to dissolute conduct, and, in consequence, the affairs of the kingdom quickly shewed the want of a master's hand. Added to the internal disorganisation, the empire suffered from the attacks of foreign enemies. Ibrahim of Jánpur possessed himself of several districts bordering on his own dominions, and Mahmúd Khiljí of Malwa went so far as to make an attempt on the capital. To extricate himself from this pressing difficulty, the sultan called in the aid of one who was destined to play a prominent part in the history of his day, Behlól Lodí, at this time nominal governor, though virtual master of the dependencies of Lahore and Sirhind. By his assistance, the king was relieved from his immediate danger, and the protecting subject was dignified with the title of Khán Khánán

(first of the nobles). Behlól's next appearance is in a somewhat altered character, as besieger of Delhí itself, and the adversary of the monarch he had lately saved: he was not however successful. Mohammed died in 849.

156.—Copper and silver mixed. 142 grs. Date 846.²⁶

Obv. سلطان محمد شاد بن فرید شاد بحضرت دہلی۔

R. —۸۴۶ النھینه امیر المؤمنین خلدت خلافتہ

157.—Copper. 85 grs. Date 842.²⁷

Obv. محمد شاد سلطانی۔

R. —۸۴۲ دار الملک دہلی

158.—Copper. 33½ grs.

Obv. محمد شاد۔

R. — بحضرت دہلی۔

THIRTY-FIRST KING (A.H. 849—854; A.D. 1444—1450).

The Alá ud din bin Mohammed of the historians, who is entitled Alem Sháh on his own coins, succeeded his father. His accession was not, however, recognised by Behlól Lodí, whose obedience the new sultan was in no position to enforce. The first acts of the public life of this prince,

²⁶ The silver coin (No D.CC.XXVII., page 545) attributed by Marsden to this sultan, does not seem to be correctly assigned. The Devanágri inscription on the obverse, connects the piece most distinctly with the type of money introduced about a century later by Shir Sháh, who is known to have remodelled the coinage, and whose style of coins is seen to be closely followed by his immediate successors, both in Hindústán and Bengal. The absence of the terms of filiation observable on the larger specimens of the undoubtedly coinage of Mohammed bin Ferid, in itself is sufficient to decide that the coin in question did not issue from his mint.

²⁷ Other coins of this type are dated, 843, 844, 847, 849 A.H.

clearly manifested to his subjects that they had little to expect either from his intellect or his conduct. In 851, Behlól Lodí made a second attempt on the city of Delhi, but with as little success as before; and shortly afterwards the sultan determined upon the unwise measure of removing his capital to Budaon: his motives for this change do not seem very obvious, as it was effected in the face of the advice of his whole court. It would appear as if he hoped for some fancied security which he did not feel at Delhi, to which the boundaries of so many adverse chiefs had attained a most inconvenient proximity. To complete his own ruin, the sultan allowed himself to be persuaded to disgrace his vizir, who, escaping to Delhi, quickly introduced the powerful Behlól Lodí, who at once, on becoming master of the capital, assumed the title of sultan;²⁸ somewhat strangely, however, retaining Alem Sháh's name in the Khutba. Not long after this, Alem Sháh offered to concede the empire to Behlól, on condition of being permitted to reside in peace at Budaon: no difficulty was made in taking advantage of this proposal; and from this time Behlól is reported to have rejected the name of Alem Sháh from the public prayers, and the latter was allowed to enjoy his insignificance undisturbed till his death in 883.

159.—Silver and copper. 146 grs. Date 853. R.

Obv. سلطان عالمشاد بن محمد شاد—

Sultan Alem Sháh, son of Mohammed Sháh.

R.—الخليفة امير المؤمنين خلد خلافته

The Khalif, commander of the faithful. May his khalifat endure. 853.

²⁸ Behlól's actual accession is fixed, in the History of the Afghans, edited by Dorn, at 17th Rubi ul Awul, 855. Vide page 46. Edit. O. T. Fund.

160.—Copper. 66 grs. Date 853. R.

Obr.—**عالمساہ سلطان**

R.—٨٥٣ **دارالملک دہلی**

161.—Copper. 46 grs. R.

Obr.—**سلطان عالمساہ بن محمد شاد بخترت دہلی**

R.—* * * * **الخلفیہ امیر المؤمنین**

One coin similar to No. 163 bears the figure 4 as the unit numeral of the date.

THIRTY-SECOND KING (A.H. 854—894; A.D. 1450—1488).

The vigorous rule of the Afghan Behlól Lodí offers a strong contrast to the inane weakness of the sway of the two Syuds who preceded him. His lengthened supremacy of thirty-eight years, however, affords but little of variety to dilate upon. The principal characteristics of his domination being defined in the successful and energetic subjection of his local governors, and a prolonged war, marked by the utmost determination on both sides, with the kings of Jánpur: for a long time neither one party nor the other can be said to have obtained any very decided advantage, such as might have been expected to result from the great efforts made by both. The balance generally remained in favour of the monarch of Delhi; and at length, in the year 983, after a twenty-six years' war, he finally re-annexed the kingdom of Jánpur to his own empire. It is recorded of this sultan, that, unlike Eastern monarchs in general, he was no respecter of pomps and ceremonies, remarking, "that it was enough for him that the world knew he was king, without his making a vain parade of royalty."

162.—Silver (impure). 142 grs. C.

Obv.—يَبْلُول شَاد سُلْطَان بِحُكْمَتِ دَهْلِي.—
The confiding-in-God, Behlól Sháh, the sultan.

R.—* * 1
فِي زَمْنِ اَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ خَلَدَتْ خَلَافَتُهُ
In the time of the commander of the faithful. May his
khalifat endure. ** 2.

163.—Silver and copper. 52 grs.

Obv.—يَبْلُول شَاد سُلْطَان بِحُكْمَتِ دَهْلِي.—
الْجَلِيلَةُ اَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ خَلَدَتْ خَلَافَتُهُ.—

164.—Copper. 85 grs. Date 855.

Obv.—يَبْلُول شَاد سُلْطَان
R.—٨٥٥ دَارُ الْمُلْكِ دَهْلِي

165.—Copper. 67 grs. Date 886.

Obv.—Legend similar to No. 164.

R.—٨٨٦ - - - الْجَلِيلَةُ

166.—Copper.

Obv.—Centre يَبْلُول شَاد Marg.—السُّلْطَان
R.—٨٧٧ نَائِبُ اَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

Dated coins of Behlól range from A.H. 855 to 893.

THIRTY-THIRD KING (A.H. 889—923; A.D. 1488—1517).

Some time before his decease, Behlól had nominated as his successor his son Nizám, who, accordingly, though not without opposition, ascended the imperial musnud under the title of Sekunder Sháh. In the division of his dominions in 883, the emperor had assigned the kingdom of Jánpur to his son Barbek. On attaining the supreme sovereignty, Sekunder demanded the nominal allegiance of his brother in the preliminary mention of his own name, in the public prayers recited in the portion of the country

over which Barbek ruled: this being refused, it was found necessary to compel its concession by force of arms. In the action which ensued, Barbek was worsted, but was subsequently forgiven, and re-instated in his government. During the succeeding years, the sultan was occupied in the subjection of Sherif, which was effected in the capture of his stronghold Biana, and in the suppression of two somewhat formidable insurrections in Jánpur and Oud. In 897, Sekunder extended his conquests over the whole of Behar, dispossessing Hussen, the last of the regal line of the Sherki monarchs, who was forced to take refuge with Alá, king of Bengal: with this last the sultan of Delhí came to a satisfactory understanding, involving a mutual recognition of boundaries, etc. In 909, the emperor, for the first time, fixed his residence at Agra, which henceforth was to supersede Delhí as the metropolis of Hindústán. Sekunder's rule was disgraced by an unusual display of bigotry, evidenced principally in a persevering destruction of Hindú temples, on the sites of which were raised Moslem mosques.

167.—Copper. 144 grs. Date A.H. 906. (Other dated coins have 896, 903, 906, and 918.)

Obo.—

المتوكل الرحمن سكunder شاه يهلو شاه سلطان بحضرت دهلي
في زعن امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته ٩٠٦

R.—

168.—Copper. 53 grs.

Obo.—المتوكل الرحمن سكunder شاه يهلو شاه

* امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته *

THIRTY-FOURTH KING (A.H. 923—937; A.D. 1517—1530).

Ibráhím succeeded his father Sekunder; from the very commencement of his reign his arrogance disgusted the

nobles of his own tribe of Lodí, who speedily sought to reduce his power by placing his brother, Jellál, on the throne of the kingdom of Jánpúr. Having compassed this purpose, however, some doubt arose as to the wisdom of their own act, and hence an attempt was made to weaken Jellál by the withdrawal of several Amrahs who had joined his standard. Jellál, detecting this design, determined upon active measures to secure himself; he therefore collected his forces and advanced to Kálpí, assuming the style of sultan, with the title of Jellál ud din. He next entered into negotiations with Azim Humáyún, who held Kalinjer for Ibráhím, and at length induced him to desert the cause of the emperor. Azim Humáyún failed at the time of need, and Jellál was reduced to a position of much difficulty, from which however he had a favourable opportunity of extricating himself, by the success of a sudden march upon Agra, which he found almost undefended; but from some strange infatuation, he allowed himself to be deluded into treating with the governor of the city, and on the advance of Ibráhím, he was compelled to flee to Guálir, where he received a temporary shelter; he was, ultimately, after various adventures and escapes, captured and put to death.

The alarm excited by the unrestrained cruelties resulting from the distrustful disposition of the sultan, led to numerous other rebellions: among the rest, Deria Khán, viceroy of Behar, openly disclaimed allegiance; and his son, Mohammed, who succeeded him shortly after the commencement of the revolt, caused the Khutba to be read, and coin to be struck in his own name.³⁰ Daulat Lodí, the governor of part of the dependencies of Lahore, also rebelled, and solicited the protection of Báber, who had

³⁰ *Ayin i Akberi.*

already, in 930 A.H., taken possession of Lahore itself. Bâber now sent an expedition under Alá, the brother of Ibrâhîm, but in the engagement which ensued, the army of the Moghuls was defeated with great slaughter. This was followed by the advance of Bâber in person, and on the 7th of Rajab, 932, on the celebrated battle field of Paniput, Ibrâhîm, after an individually well-contested, though ill-directed action, lost his kingdom and his life.

169.—Copper. 83 grs. R.

Obv. المتكل الرحمن بابراهيم شاد سكندر شاه سلطان.—
R.—في زمن امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته

170.—Copper. 37 grs. R.

Obv. ابراهيم شاد سلطان.—
R.—امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته

171.—Copper. 42 grs. R. Date 926.

Obv. ابراهيم شاد سكندر * * *
R.—امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته

THE MOGHUL CONQUEST.

The narrative of the chequered adventures of Bâber and his son Humâyûn is more pertinent to general history than a subject of peculiar import, in the present notices of the local succession of the Patân dynasty of Hindûstán. It may, therefore, be sufficient to indicate more concisely than usual, the dates of the several prominent occurrences of the Indian reigns of these two monarchs.

Bâber's sway, after his occupation of the cities of Delhi and Agrah, was not undisputed, but he may be said generally to have triumphed over all opposition: he died, in full posses-

sion of the empire of Hindústán, on 5th Jumád ul Awul, 936 A.H., and was succeeded by his son, Nasír ud din Humáyún. In 946, Hindal Mirza, another son of Báber, revolted; and shortly afterwards, Kámrán, the brother who held Kábul, followed his example, marching to Delhí, where he was met by Hindal, who persuaded him to join forces, and in company they advanced towards Agrah; but disagreeing by the way, Hindal, finding himself the weaker, fled, leaving Kamran to assume the imperial ensigns on his arrival at the capital. Humáyún was at this time engaged in a war with Shír Khán, who held a considerable portion of Bengal and Behar. On the 6th Safar, 946, Humáyún was surprised by his wily adversary, by whom he was totally routed, and his whole army destroyed. Humáyún himself, escaping with the utmost difficulty, joined his brothers at Agrah, who saw their common danger in the increasing power of Shír. For six months, consultations and disputes continued, which ended in the departure of Kámrán towards Kábul;³¹ to this, succeeded the advance of Shír (now Shír Sháh); and Humáyún, after a temporary advantage, was finally defeated, in Muharrim, 947, the victor possessing himself of the capital. From this time until his triumphant re-conquest of his Indian empire in

³¹ Kámrán's coins are extant. The following is a description of a specimen in the East India Company's Collection. Kabul 947.

Silver. 71 grs.

مُحَمَّدٌ كَامْرَانٌ بِادْشَادِ خَازِي (diamond shaped)

الْمُلْكُ السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ الْجَاهَانُ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى مَلْكَهُ و—

سُلْطَانَهُ ضُرُبَ كَابُلَ سَنَهُ ٩٤٧

R.—Circular area, the usual short symbol.

Marg.—ابا بكر الصديق عمر الناوارق عثمان العون علي المرتضى—

962, Humáyún was fated to be a wanderer: the tale of his sufferings, his escapes, his varied fortunes, and his prominent heroism, developed during this interval, forms a romance of kingly life but seldom equalled.

BABER.

172.—Silver. 71 5 grs. V.R.

Obv.—Centre محمد بابر پادشاه
Zehír ud din Mohammed Baber Padshah.

Marg.—(worn) * * السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ

R.—Centre لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

Marg.— على المرتضى—
* Uli, the chosen!

173.—A second silver coin of Baber (E. I. Company's Cabinet), somewhat similar to the above, has the word غازی at the end of the inscription on the obverse area, in addition to the legend detailed under No. 172.

On the obverse margin is to be seen—الاعظم خاقان

R. Area.—As in the last coin.

Marg.—(Legible) * العون على المرتضى

HUMAYUN.

174.—Gold. 13 grs. R.

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

Obv.—R. محمد همایون پادشاه غازی خلد الله ملکه۔

Mohammed Hamáyun Padshah Gházi. May God prolong his reign.

175.—Silver. 71 grs. R.

Obv.—Centre محمد همایون غازی

Mohammed Humáyun Gházi.

الملك الامير السلطان الاعظم النهاقان خلد الله تعالى.—
Marg. ملكه و سلطانه ضرب اكره سنة ٩٤٤

The king, the amír, the most mighty sultan, the khákán.
 May Almighty God prolong his dominion and sovereignty.
 Struck at Agra, year 944.

R.—Centre

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ اللَّهُ يَرْزُقُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ بِغَيْرِ حِسَابٍ
Marg. There is no god but God, Mohammed is the apostle of God.
 God is bountiful unto whom he pleaseth, without measure.

بصدق ابا بكر بعدل عمر بحكمة عثمان بعلم علي رضي الله عنه—
Marg. By the truth of Abubekir, by the justice of Umur, by the
 modesty of Usmán, by the wisdom of Alí, may God
 reward him.

176.—Another silver coin, 71 grs., struck at Agra, is dated 945.
 A variety, with a nearly square area, has the date 952; the
 name of the place of mintage is obliterated.

A fourth coin of the type here described, which is un-
 fortunately wanting in both date and place of mintage, has
 the stamp or currency mark of Kamran; of this impression
 the following words are legible:—

عَدْلٌ كَامْرَانٌ پاد شاد غ—

Another silver coin of Humáyun (71 grains), has the
 name **محمد همايون خازى** only, in an oblong area. The reverse
 area being circular, as in the specimen engraved, the le-
 gend itself is confined to the usual short symbol. The
 margins are much worn, but apparently vary slightly in
 their legends from those of the above coins. There are
 traces of the figures 937.

THIRTY-SIXTH KING (A.H. 947—952; A.D. 1540—1545).

Shír Sháh had already assumed the title of *Sháh* on his
 permanent subjection of Bengal; his entrance into Agra,

therefore, had to be signalised by no new accession of honorary designation. On attaining the supreme power in Hindústán, Shir's attention was directed to the due organisation of his kingdom in the more complete reduction of the Moghul governors of provinces, and the conquest of neighbouring states. In 948, he possessed himself of Malwa; in 949, he reduced the fort of Raisín, treacherously massacring the garrison; in 951, he invaded and overran Marwar. His next exploit was the capture of Chitor, and his last operation the siege of Kalinjer, where he was killed by the explosion of a magazine in his own trenches, surviving only long enough to receive the report of victory, for which he had still sufficient life left to exclaim, "Thanks be to Almighty God." His rule was able and energetic, but deceitful. Of works of lasting value to his country, he is famed for having constructed a high road in extent *four* months' journey, from Bengal to Rohtas near the Indus. This undertaking was made complete by the caravanserais at each stage, and the excavation of wells at the distance of each mile and a half, the whole being planted with trees to afford shade to the traveller.

177.—Gold. 167 grs. U.

Obv.—السلطان العادل — لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

There is no god but God, Mohammed is the apostle of God. The just sovereign.

R.—شیر شاد السلطان خلد الله ملک ۹۴۷

Shir Sháh, the sultan. May God prolong his reign. 947.
Sā Sūr Sāhī.

178.—Silver. 176 grs. Shirkurh, (9)49 A.H. (*Prinsep Coll.*)³²

Obv.—Square area لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

³² The silver coin of a similar type to the above, described by Marsden under No. DCC.XXIX., as being dated 945, is not so dated

ابا بكر الصديق عمر الفاروق عثمان ذي التورين^{٣٣} على المرتضى—

R.—Square area خلد الله ملکه شیر شاد سلطان

Marg.—**श्री सेर साही**

فرید الدنیا والدین ابوالمظفر ضرب شیر کده ٩٤٩

179.—Silver. 175 grs. C.

Obv.—Centre اللہ الا اللہ محمد رسول اللہ

Marg.—ابا بكر عمر عثمان على السلطان العادل—

Abábekir, Umur, Usmán, Ulí. The just sovereign.

R.—Centre خلد الله ملکه وسلطانه شیر شاد السلطان

Shir Sháh, the sultan. May God perpetuate his dominion and sovereignty. 949.

Marg.—**श्री सेर साही** فرید الدنیا والدین ابوالمظفر جهانپناہ

Feríd ud dunia u ud din, Abul Muzafar, Asylum of the world. Sri Ser Sáhí.

180.—Silver. 174 grs.

Obverse area and margin similar to No. 179.

R.—Centre خلد الله ملکه وسلطانه شیر شاد سلطان

Marg.—٩٥٢ **श्री सेर साही** فرید الدنیا والدین ابوالمظفر

in the only specimen of the kind in his cabinet in the British Museum. Marsden was unable to detect the Hindí inscription on the margin of the reverse of this medal, which, with the aid of a better specimen, such as the one now described, is clearly recognisable.

Marsden's No. DCC.XXXVII. is seen from the original coin to have been struck at گواہیر Guálír, and not at Korah.

^{٣٣} ذي التورين Possessor of two lights, in reference to his marriage with two daughters of the prophet.

181.—Silver. 171·5 grs. C. (Date on a similar coin, 948.)

Obverse square area, as in gold coin No. 177.

Marg.—عمر - عثمان - على—*ابوبكر*

R.—Square area ٩٤٩ شيرشاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه

श्री सेर साही

Marg.—ابوالمنظفر—*فريد الدين والدين*

182.—Silver. 175 grs. C.

The obverse square area contains the usual short symbol.

Marg.—ابا بكر الصديق عمر الخطاب — — — على المرتضى—^{٣٤}

R.—Square area شيرشاه خلد الله ملكه

श्री सेर सह

Marg.— — — ابوالمنظفر فريد الدين و الدنيا

183.—Silver. 175 grs. Struck at Kálpi.

Obo.—Area لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ضرب كالبي

R.—Area شيرشاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

Margins worn.

184.—Copper. 310 grs.

Obo.—Area في عهد الامير الحامي فريد الدين الدنيا

Marg.—ابو المظفر شيرشاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه—

185.—Copper. 315 grs. Agra, A.D. 950.

Obo.—Area في عهد الامير الحامي

Marg.—السلطان العادل فريد الدين الدنيا—

R.—Area شيرشاه سلطان ضرب اگره

Marg.—ابو المظفر خلد الله—

186.—Copper. 316 grs.

Obo.—Square area سلطان شيرشاه خلد الله

Marg.—* * ملكه وسلطنه الله

R.—Square area في عهد الميرة الجائلي

Marg.—** * الله

^{٣٤} The eloquent.

^{٣٥} Sic.

187.—Copper 310 grs. Similar to 186. ضرب گوالیر Guáller.

188.—Copper. 151 grs.

Obr.— سلطان العادل ابو المظفر شیر شاه سلطان—

R.— خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه *

189.—Copper. 43 grs.

Obr.— خلیفہ ازمن السلطان

R.— العادل شیر شاه سلطان ۹۴۸

THIRTY-SEVENTH KING (A.H. 959—969; A.D. 1545—1553).

Adil Khán, the eldest son, was nominated successor of his father, Shir Sháh. Jellál Khán, the younger brother, however, taking advantage of his absence from the capital at the time of the death of the father, obtained possession of the imperial dignity under the title of Islám Shah ; and not long afterwards, Adil made a formal resignation of his birthright, and saluted Islám Shah as king, simultaneously accepting, for his own portion, the Jaghir of Bíána ; but soon having cause to distrust the good faith of his brother, Adil fled to Mewat and openly revolted. This effort was quickly crushed by the sultan, and Adil took refuge in Behar, where all traces of his eventual fate are lost. This outbreak was followed by a second rebellion in the Punjáb, under Azim Humáyún, which was for the time subdued by the defeat of the insurgents. The rest of the reign of Islám was disturbed by repeated revolts, and during this latter period he had no less than three remarkable escapes from assassination. He died in 960 A.H.

190.—Silver. 168 grs. C.

Obr.—Square area - لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

ابا بكر الصديق عمر القاروق عثمان العون^{٣٥} على المرتضى—
Marg.—Abúbékir the true, Umur the discerning, Usmán the defender, Uli the chosen.

R.—*Marg.*

* ٤٧٧ جلال الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر السلطان العادل 
Marg.—Jellal ud dunia wa ud din Abúl Muzafer, the just sovereign.
Area.—اسلام شاد ابن شیر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه ٩٥٢
شہزادہ اسلام صاحب
 Islám Sháh, son of Shír Sháh the sultan. May God prolong his reign.

191.—Silver. 173 grs. (thick coin). C.

Obv.—*Area.* لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Marg.—ابا بكر و عمر و عثمان علي ضرب

R.—*Marg.* ٩٥٢ السلطان العادل ابو المظفر— بين والدنيا سنة

Area.—اسلام شاد ابن شیر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه

شہزادہ اسلام صاحب

192.—Copper. 315 grs.

Obv.—في عبد الامير الحامي * الدین الدنان—

ابو المظفر اسلام شاد سلطان بن شیر شاه خلد الله ملکه—

193.—Copper. 38 grs.

Obv.—اسلام شاد شیر شاه سلطان—

R.—خليفة الزمان العادل—

^{٣٥} The word *العون* (*The Defender, Patron, also Servant*) is a somewhat doubtful reading, as on many coins there seems to be a dot over the third letter, making it *الغون*. Marsden has given this word as *الثون*, but the best cut specimens of Islám's mintage display the *ع* or *غ* in its perfect shape. Islám's coins are very uncertain in their orthography in other respects, the *ابن* being frequently written *بن*, and the *صاحب* *Shahí*, being used indiscriminately with *صاحب* *Shahí*.

The same uncertain method of expressing the Devanagri equivalent of the Persian name of *شیر شاد* is also to be seen in its full force on the coins of that prince.

THIRTY-EIGHTH, THIRTY-NINTH, AND FORTIETH KINGS.

The historical events of the partial reigns of the three last of the Patán kings of the Delhi line, are so interwoven with one another, that it may be appropriate to notice them together. On Islám Sháh's death, his son, Firúz Khán, a boy of twelve years of age, was for the moment elevated to the throne of his father; but he was almost immediately murdered by Mubariz Khán, a nephew of Shír Sháh, who usurped the sovereignty, entitling himself Mohammed Adil Sháh. Equally infamous and ignorant, the self-elected king entrusted the direction of his kingdom to one Himú (a Hindú shopkeeper); fortunately the individual thus selected was as capable, as he subsequently proved himself courageous, and for a time upheld the monarch he served. The king's inconsistency in resuming jaghirs and governments from the holders and conferring them upon others, apparently without any object but to show his power so to do, led to an attack on his person in open court, from which, flight but narrowly saved him. In 961, a rebellion was organised, which obliged the monarch to march against the insurgents in person, when he attacked and routed them near Chunar. Shortly after this, Ibráhím Súr, Adil's cousin and brother-in-law, revolted, and took possession of Delhi and Agra, obliging Adil to confine himself to the eastern portions of his dominions; no sooner, however, had Ibráhím seated himself on his newly erected throne, than another competitor started up in the person of Ahmed, a nephew of Shír Sháh, who, on this occasion, took the name of Sekunder Sháh, and defeating Ibráhím, succeeded to his lately acquired territories. In the meantime, Mohammed Khán Guria, governor of Bengal, rebelled against Mohammed Adil, but was eventually vanquished and slain by

Himú; prior to which last action, Humáyún had re-possessed himself of Agrah and Delhí, and thus in acquiring Sekunder's provinces found himself in antagonism with Mohammed Adil. Himú, hearing of the death of Humáyún, which occurred about this time, and leaving his master in safety at Clumar, advanced towards Agrah, which he entered unopposed, and thence proceeded to Delhí, where he overcame Tirdi Beg, the Moghul governor. He next prepared for a march on Lahore, but was met on the plain of Paniput by Behram, the guardian of the young prince Akber, and defeated and slain, after a display of considerable valour. Adil continued to reign in his Eastern dominions till he was killed, in 964, in a battle with Behadur Shah, a pretender to the throne of Bengal.

MOHAMMED ADIL.

194.—Silver. 174 grs. R.

Obv.—Square area لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

R.—Square area محمد عادل شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه ۹۶۱
श्री महमद सह

Mohammed Adil Sháh, sultan. May God prolong his reign. 961. *Srī Mahamad Sah.*

Margins illegible.

195.—Silver. V.R. As No. 194. Date 963.

196.—Copper. 308 grs. V.R.

Obv.—ابو المجاحد سلطان محمد شاه خلد الله ملکه

في عهد الامير احامي - - دين والد ۹۶۱

SEKUNDER.

197.—Silver. 175 grs. U.

Obv.—Square area لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

R.—سلطان سکندر شاہ سور ۹۶۲

Margins illegible.

198.—Copper. 35 grs. R.

Ov. سلطان سکندر—

سکندر شاه سلطانی—

The following account of the Oriental method of coining, as in use at Delhí in the time of Akber, may not be uninteresting, as evidencing the probable practice of the earlier period to which the coins of the present series more immediately refer.

The melter melts the refined plates of metal and casts them into *round* ingots. The zerrab cuts from the round ingots pieces of gold, silver, and copper, of the size of the coin. It is surprising, that in Irán and Turán, they cannot cut these round pieces without an anvil, made on purpose; and in Hindustan, the workman, without any such machine, performs this business with such exactness, that there is not the difference of a single hair. The seal-engraver engraves the dies of coins on steel and such like metals. The sickchy places the round piece of metal between two dies, and, by the strength of the hammerer, both sides are stamped at one stroke.

Rupeeah روبیه is a silver coin of a round form, in weight $11\frac{1}{4}$ mashahs. It was first introduced in the time of Shir Khán, and under the present reign it has been revived, and made more pure.

—*Gladwin's Ayin Akberi.*

IN preference to complicating the text with multitudinous references to similar coins, varying from the specimens described, only in date, it has been deemed advisable to subjoin, in a distinct form, a comprehensive Table, embracing all the annual dates obtainable from a careful examination of the contents of the various cabinets, that have contributed materials for the foregoing review of the moneys of the kings of Delhi.

The numbers printed in larger type refer to the coins which are to be found described at large in the text. The ordinary numerals imply only a general identity in the piece bearing the date, with the coin to which the number itself properly belongs in the preceding detail. It has not been so much an object to make the present summary an exposition of the different extant species of coins, as to indicate, in a connected form, the years capable of citation as those comprised in the reign of certain given monarchs, proved by their coins. The abbreviations, B.M., I.H., M., P., refer to the various collections of the British Museum, the East India House, and the accumulations of Marsden and Prinsep, both of which last are now deposited in our National Museum. Where no such acknowledgment is appended, the examples have been taken from coins in the author's own possession.

APPENDIX.

In closing this description of the various coins of the Patán kings of Delhi, it may be useful to append a brief *résumé* of the more prominent changes, which an exact examination of the series of their medals has rendered requisite in the list of the accessions of the different sovereigns quoted at the head of this essay. Though some apology is due for the position in which these rectifications appear, yet the present allocation has been the almost necessary result of the mode in which these notes have been written and published; that is to say, in detached portions: the major part of the subject having been undertaken at the moment, by instalments; as the more locally interesting claims on the space of the Journal in which these descriptions were to appear admitted of their publication. Hence, as it was requisite to adopt some distinct groundwork whereon to proceed, the recognised list, and the hitherto received statements of Ferishtah, were accepted in the first instance as safe bases, from which any important divergence was deemed improbable. This expectation will be seen to have been erroneous in the following instances:—

- No. 15 Umur . . . for 716 read 715. See coin 63, and note p. 136.
- 16 Mubarik . . — 717 — 716. — 66.¹
- 17 Khusrú . . — 721 — 720. — 74, and cast No. 8.
- 18 Tughlak . . — 721 — 720. — 79.
- 24 Sekunder . — 796 — 795. — 140, 141, 142.
- 25 Mahmud's death 814 — 815. See note, p. 140.

The last point in this detail has been sufficiently explained in a note at the foot of page 136; but the other discrepancies seem to require a few additional remarks, not so much on account of any difficulty existing in the questions themselves, as from the curious exactitude with which the proposed emendations frequently support one another. The conflicting nature of the historical dates, and the testimony of coins Nos. 66 and 74, formed the subject of notice in their fit place; but the precise nature of the numeral on coin No. 63, having escaped detection at the right moment, necessitated a correction, which will be found in the note to coin No. 140. It now merely remains to direct attention to these consecutive evidences, and to express a conviction, which isolated unsupported medals might not have altogether justified, that the

¹ The date of 716, to be found on this coin, is supported by a like figured date on a similar coin in the East India House Cabinet, and is conclusively confirmed by the *written* inscription of the same date on a silver coin of Mubarik in the British Museum. (See cast No. 6.)

Mohammedan authors, who assign the several dates of 716,² 717, and 721,³ as the epochs of accession of the respective princes noted above, are one and all incorrect, to the extent of having post-dated each of these different events by one year. The writers in question seem to have adhered with sufficient apparent scruple to the correct duration of the reign of each monarch; but by some error in the earlier part of their narrations, they have been led into a series of mistakes, which their tests of accuracy proved insufficient to rectify. Having advanced thus far in the correction of Ferishtah's erroneous dates, and having ante-dated a succession of three kings each by one year, the application of a similar process in favor of the next monarch in order is easily justified; especially as his predecessor, who ascended the throne in the third month of the Mohammedan year, reigned somewhat less than five months: whence it is manifest, that in accepting these last data⁴ the elevation of the successor must of necessity be placed in the same year.

This point has been made the subject of separate mention, for the purpose of drawing more direct attention to the question involved in its admission, namely, the value of the figure • which is to be found in the unit place of the annual date on coin No. 79. As long as Ferishtah's dates remained unimpugned, it was imperative to conclude that this numeral was, in its position on this coin, intended to represent a five; as a monarch who was asserted to have attained his throne in 721, and retained it till 725, had obviously no year of his sway which would answer to the employment of a final naught in the notification of the period of issue of any of his coins. Having, however, seen cause to discredit so much of the historian's testimony, it may now be permissible to restore the hitherto questionable figure to its correct place in the list of numerals, and to account it a naught and nothing but a naught.⁵

In arriving at this determination of the functions of the dubious figure, it is requisite, before finally taking leave of this question, to

² Assistance in the due assignment of the disputed date of the accession of any given king, is naturally to be sought in the determination of the epoch of the inauguration of his predecessor and the length of his reign. There are discrepancies as to the era of Alâ ud dîn's enthronement to the amount of one year; or, more correctly speaking, a difference between the citation of the year 695 (Mirât ul Alâm and Tûbkât Akberi) and 696 (Ferishtah). The duration of his rule is pretty uniformly fixed at 20 years and some months.

³ The Tûbkât Akberi gives 720 as the date of the accession of Ghiâs ud din Tughlak.

⁴ Strange as it may seem, it is to be borne in mind that the dates of the months are often perfectly trustworthy, when the simultaneously appended year is altogether false.

⁵ See note to coin No. 74, and coin No. 135.

anticipate a notice pertinent thereto, in its due dynastical order, and to rectify in this place the opinion expressed in regard to the date and circumstances under which the coin (No. 135) bearing the joint names of Firáz and his son Mohammed was issued : it will be observed that, all doubt having now been removed as to the fact of its true date being "790 A.H.," it can only be looked upon as a medal of the regency of the son, struck during the temporary retirement of the father from the cares of state ; and not, as was at one time supposed, a simple medal of the son, coined after his full accession to the undivided throne of Delhi.

Continuing the examination of the various dates pertaining to the sway of the remaining monarchs, it would seem that the error which extended itself to the epochs of the inauguration of four kings in succession, was by some means accommodated in the accurate assignment of the era of the commencement of the rule of Mohammed bin Tughlak : but again, in the date of the installation of Alá ud din Sekunder Sháh, there reeurs a similar inaccuracy of one year, as it is clear from the many dated coins of this prince, that the 45 days of his rule should be assigned to the year 975, and not to 976,⁶ as affirmed by Ferishtah. (See coins No. 140, 141, 142, etc.) This error, in as far as its results might have affected the accessions of the monarchs who follow, will be seen to have been speedily and successfully got rid of by the perpetration of a new error, which curtailed the full extent of the reign of Mahmúd, Sekunder's immediate successor, by the identical overdrawn year.

In addition to the above rectifications of the inaccuracies of Eastern historical authorities, there are errors to be acknowledged as the writer's own, as well as many slight orthographical discrepancies in the Anglicised Oriental names, arising from the occasional correction of the press by other hands during the temporary absences of the author. The latter, where considered of sufficient consequence, will be found duly recorded in the list of errata. The former demand a more explicit notice, and may briefly be enumerated as follows :—

1st. The incorrect assignment of the coin described under No. 58, which is shown, from a more extended examination of the medals of other Indian dynasties, to have belonged to Alá ud din Mohammed Sekunder al Sáni, of Khwárizm, who conquered Ghazní in 612 A.H.,⁷ and not to Alá ud din Mohammed Sekunder al Sáni of Delhi.

⁶ The *Tubkárt Akberi* also assigns 976 (19th Rabí al Awal) as the date of the inauguration of Sekunder.

⁷ Abúl Faraj, De Guignes, etc.

2nd. The erroneous transcription of the date 702 (page 51), as the epoch of the deposition of the Egyptian khalif, Al Mostakfi Billah. This date was taken from the table at the end of the 2nd volume of "Wilkinson's Modern Egypt," where the accessions, depositions, &c., are somewhat confusedly mixed up. The figures should be 740.⁸

3rd. The omission of an important variety of the binominal coins of Firuz III., which, had they not escaped notice, should have appeared after coin No. 123. These medals bear the joint names of Firuz and his son Futteh Khán. They are sufficiently common, and in the obvious variation in the form of the letters of the legends, from those of the metropolitan monies of the father, and the inferiority of their execution as works of art, indicate themselves the produce of a provincial mint.

The following is all that can be satisfactorily deciphered of the inscriptions:—

Silver and copper. 135 grs.

Obv. — * * فتحخان فیروز شاد

R. ضرب فی زمان امیر المؤمنین ابوالفتح خلدت خلافتة۔

Others have the name of the khalif عبد الله in the place of
ابوالفتح

Advantage has been taken of the existence of sundry unpublished casts of rare coins, prepared to be used as types by the late James Prinsep, which have lately passed into the possession of the trustees of the British Museum, to add to the numismatic illustrations already afforded by the copper-plate engravings which elucidate the subject-matter of the present notice. Referring to the detailed transcripts of the legends of the several medals em-

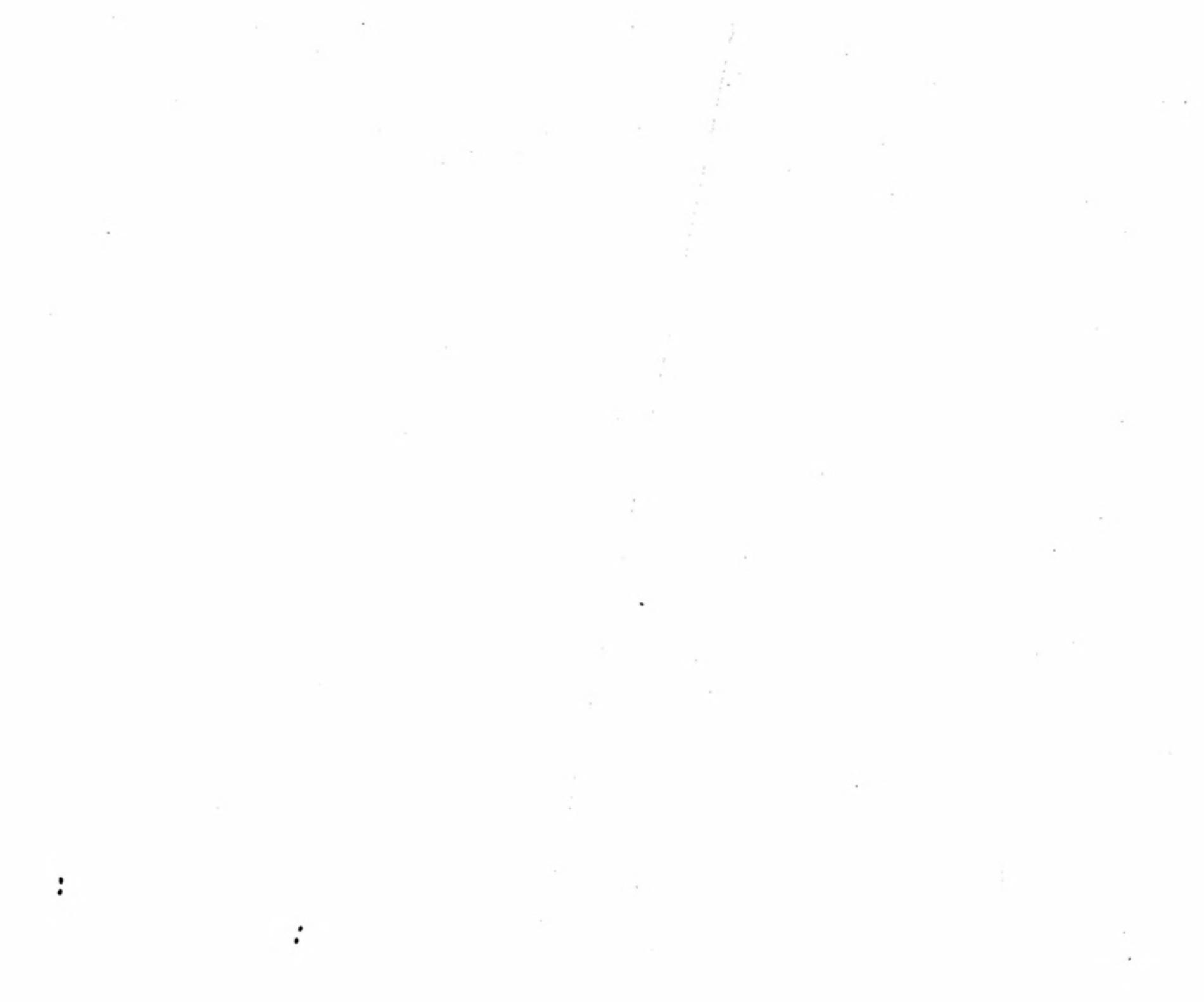
⁸ Abúl Faraj (*Pocock*), page 34.

bodied in the preceding pages, it will be sufficient for the explanation of the subjoined impressions, to indicate generally the class to which each specimen belongs, adding merely the date or other variation in which their originals may have differed from the coins described at large in the text.

- No. 1. Cast of the original coin described at the foot of p. 105,
vol. ix.
2. Ditto ditto of No. 27.
3. A coin of Kaikobád, similar to No. 46.
4. An imperfect specimen of Alá ud din's gold coinage,
No. ^c57.
5. Mubarik Sháh, ^d65.
6. Idem, similar to 64, but dated 716 A.H.
7. Behádúr Sháh بہادر شاہ السلطان بن سلطان p. 181., vol. ix.
8. Khusrú, similar to No. 74, but the cast of a *different* coin
A.H. 720 (*r.)
9. Tughlak Sháh, similar to 75.
10. Mohammed Tughlak, from a gold coin similar to No. 82.
11. Idem id. id. No. 84.
12. Surfaces of different coins { To the right, the reverse of a
coin similar to No. 88.
{ To the left, the reverse of a
coin similar to No. 96.
13. Shír Sháh, similar to No. 181, with the addition of
وسلطانه in the reverse area. A.H. 948.
14. Shír Sháh, similar to No. 179.
15. Islám Sháh, similar to No. 190. Date 960.
16. Islám Sháh, idem. Date 957.

ABSTRACT TABLE OF DATES.

| | Gold and Silver. | Billon and Copper. | | Gold and Silver. | Billon and Copper. | | Gold and Silver. | Billon and Copper. | | Gold and Silver. | Billon and Copper. | | Gold and Silver. | Billon and Copper. |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Mohammed bin Sam. | | | Umur. | 715 | | 63 | Firuz III. (Continued.) | | Mubarak II. | | | | Shir Shah. | |
| 590 | 2 I.H. | | Mubarak. | | 64 B.M. | 66 | 772 | 115 I.H. | 832 | 154 | 946 | 181 ^a | | |
| id. | G 2 I.H. | | | | | | 773 | 116 | 833 | 154 | 947 | 177 | | |
| 596 | 1 | | | 716 | | 64 | 775 | 115 | 834 | 153 | 948 | 181 ^a | 189 | |
| id. | 2 I.H. | | | 717 | | 67 | 776 | 115 I.H. | 835 | 153 | 949 | 178, 179 | | |
| 598 | 3 | | | 718 | | 68, 69 | 777 | 115 | 836 | 154 | 950 | 180 B.M. | 185 | |
| Altumsh. | | | | 719 | | 69 | 778 | 115 A.S. ^b | Mohammed bin Ferid. | | 951 | 180 B.M. | 184 | |
| 623 | | 14 | | 720 | | 70 | 779 | 115 | | | 952 | 180 | 186 | |
| Masaud. | | | Khusru. | | | | 780 | 115 | 842 | 157 | Islam Shah. | | | |
| 641 | 33 | | | 720 | | | 783 | 115 | 843 | 156 | 952 | 191 | | |
| Mahmud. | | | Tughlak I. | | | | 784 | 116 | 844 | 157 | 953 | 190 | | |
| 654 | 39 | | | 720 | | 75 | 787 | 118 | 845 | 156 | 954 | 190 | 192 | |
| 657 | 39 | | | 721 | | 80 | Cast No. 8 | 114 | 846 | 156 | 955 | 190 I.H. | | |
| 658 | 39 | | | 722 | | 77 | 788 | 118 | 847 | 157 | 956 | 191 | | |
| 662 | 39 | | | 723 | | 80 | 789 | 118 | 848 | 156 | 957 | 190 ^c | | |
| Balban. | | | | 724 | | 78 | 790 | 120 | Alem Shah. | | 958 | 190 | | |
| | | | | 725 | | 80 | Tughlak II. | | | 853 | 159 | 959 | 190 | |
| | | | | | | | | 126 | Behlol Lodhi. | | 160 | 960 | 190 ^c | |
| | | | Mohammed Tughlak. | | | | 791 | 129 | | | | | Mohammed Adil. | |
| 664 | 42 | | | | | | 792 | 129 | | 855 | 164 | 961 | 191 | 196 |
| 665 | 42 | | | | | | 793 | 129 | | 858 | 162 | 963 | 195 | |
| 669 | 42 | | | | | | | | | 860 | 162 | | | |
| 673 | 43 | | | 725 | | 87 | | | | 863 | 162 | | | |
| 674 | 42 B.M. | | | 726 | | 82 | | | | 866 | 164 | | | |
| 678 | 6. | | | 727 | | 83 | | | | 868 | 164 | | | |
| Kaikobad. | | | | 728 | | 88 | | | | 873 | 164 | | | |
| | | | | 729 | | 89 | | | | 877 | 166 | | | |
| 687 | 46 | | | 730 | | 89 | | | | 886 | 166 | | | |
| 688 | 46 M. | | | | | | 790 | 135 | | 888 | 166 B.M. | | | |
| Firuz. | | | Hrus Token. | | | | 793 | 136 | | 889 | 166 | | | |
| | | | | 730 | | | 794 | 136 | | 890 | 165 | | | |
| | | | | 731 | | | | | | 893 | 162 | | | |
| | | | | 732 | | | 97 | | | | 165 | | | |
| | | | | 732 | | 98 | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | 795 | Sekunder. | | | | | | |
| 691 | 50 | | | 732 | | 93 | | | | | | | | |
| 694 | 50 | | | 733 | | 94 | 93 | | | | | | | |
| 695 | 50 | | | 734 | | 93 | 93 | | | | | | | |
| Ibrahim. | | | | 735 | | 92 | 93, 94 | | | | | | | |
| | | | | 736 | | 84 | 93 | | | | | | | |
| 695 | 54 | | | 737 | | 94 | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | 738 | | 94 | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | 741 | | ? | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | 742 | | 85 | | | | | | | | |
| Ala ud din. | | | | 743 | | 95 | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | 743 | | 95 | | | | | | | | |
| 699 | 57 B.M. | | | 748 | | | 110 I.H. | 110, 111 | | | | | | |
| 700 | | 60 | | 749 | | | | 798 | | | | | | |
| 702 | | 59, 60 | | | | | | 800 | | | | | | |
| 703 | 57 M. | 59 | | | | | | 801 | | | | | | |
| 704 | G. c. B.M. | 60 | | | | | | 803 | | | | | | |
| 705 | 57 I.H. | 60 | | | | | | 804 ^d | | | | | | |
| 707 | | 60 | | 759 | | | 115 | 807 | | | | | | |
| 710 | 57 | 60 | | 761 | | | 115 I.H. | 807 | | | | | | |
| 711 | 57 M. | 59 I.H. | | 766 | | | 115 I.H. | 813 | | | | | | |
| 712 | 57 | 59 | | 767 | | | 115 | 813 | | | | | | |
| 713 | 57 B.M. | 59 | | 769 | | | 115 I.H. | 816 | | | | | | |
| 714 | 57 B.M. | 59 | | 770 | | | 115 | | | | | | | |
| 715 | 57 B.M. | 59 | | 771 | | | 115 | 818 | | | | | | |





XIII.

ON THE IRISH FULL-FACE HALF-PENCE OF JOHN.

SECOND NOTICE.

Dear Sir,

THE different varieties of the Irish Full-face Halfpence of John have never been, as yet, properly collected together and correctly published: as an attempt and commencement, I send you a very carefully-taken list of the different varieties, moneymasters, and legends, etc., thereof, in my own collection, hoping that it may be more fully added to (as I know it can) by other collectors of Irish coins, whose cabinets are capable of shewing many other varieties.

Since the dispersion of the very large hoards of the coins of John, belonging to the late Thomas Walker, Esq., of Ravenswood Park, Yorkshire, which formerly belonged to the late Mr. Petrie of Dublin, and were found in Ireland, many new varieties have been for the first time noticed: about one half of those in my own collection came from these hoards, having been selected, with much care, from a very large number: the other half, and indeed the best preserved, were procured, at various intervals, from different parts of this country, but principally from the county of Limerick.

In type there is very little to be noticed or remarked: in some, however, there is a little pellet or dot in the centre of each annulet, on reverse: also, a similar pellet at each angle of the cross on reverse: others are totally without these varieties, which are the only ones, not hitherto noticed, I have met with.

My list of varieties, etc., is as follows. I have also given a statement of their preservation. Those marked with a star are new varieties never before published.

| <i>Obverse.</i> | <i>Reverse.</i> | <i>Condition.</i> |
|--|---|--------------------------------------|
| *1+ IOHANNES DOM | + ADAM ON DW | Fine |
| 2+ _____ | + _____ DW ϵ | Very fine |
| *3+ _____ | + ditto but differently formed letters and type | ditto |
| *4+ _____ DOMI | + ADAM ON DWD | ditto |
| *5+ IONANNES (<i>sic</i>) DO | + DAVI ON DW ϵ | Fine, but [a little clipped |
| *6+ IOHANNES DOM | + NICOLAS: ON DW | Very fine |
| *7+ _____ | + NICOLAS ON DW | Fine, but [slightly clipped |
| *8+ _____ | + do. but different letters | ditto |
| 9+ _____ | + NORMAN ON DW | Very fine |
| *10+ _____ DOO (<i>sic</i>) | + NORNAN ON DV | Fine |
| *11+ _____ DOMI | + RODBER ON DW ϵ | Very fine |
| 12+ _____ DOO | + RODBERD _____ | ditto |
| *13+ _____ DOMI | + _____ _____ | ditto |
| *14+ _____ | + _____ ON DW | ditto |
| *15+ _____ DOMI | + RODBERN _____ | ditto |
| *16+ _____ DO | + TOMAS ON DW ϵ | ditto |
| 17+ _____ DOM | + _____ _____ | Rude, and [slightly clipped |
| *18+ _____ DOMI | + _____ ON DW | Fine, but [clipped a little |
| *19+ _____ DOMIN | + _____ DW ϵ | Fine |
| *20+ _____ DOM | + TVRGOD _____ | Very fine |
| *21+ _____ | + WILLELM ON DV | Fine |
| *22+ _____ DO | + GEFREI ON WA | ditto |
| *23+ _____ | + _____ _____ | Rude, and [moneyer's name indistinct |
| 24+ _____ DOMI | + MARCVS _____ | Fine, but [slightly clipped |
| *25+ _____ DOM | + WALTER ON WA | Fine |
| *26+ _____ | + WALTEX ON RE | ditto |
| *27+ _____ | + _____ ON REN | ditto |
| *28+ Illegible on both obverse and reverse, evidently either a forgery of the day, or the work of an uneducated artist, ignorant of letters. It is in a very fine state of preservation. | | |

The only varieties already published or which otherwise have come under my observation, and not in the foregoing list, are as follows.

| | Obverse. | Reverse. |
|----|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | + IOHANNES DO ^M | + ALEX ON DWE |
| 2 | + _____ | + NORMAN ON DWE |
| 3 | + _____ DOMIN IBER | + _____ DWELI |
| 4 | + _____ DO ^M | + NICOL ON DWE |
| 5 | + _____ | + RODBERD ON WE |
| 6 | + _____ DOMIN | + RODBERT ON DW |
| 7 | + _____ DO ^M | + TOMAS ON DW |
| 8 | + _____ | + MARC ON WATER |
| 9 | + IOHANNIC — | + MARCVS ON — |
| 10 | + JOHANNES — | + ALEXAND ON WA |
| 11 | + _____ | + WHILELMVS ON WA |
| 12 | + _____ | + _____ DE WATER |
| 13 | + _____ | + DIIN ON |
| 14 | + _____ DO ON WA | + ON ANCION |
| 15 | + _____ DO ^M IN | + RODBERD ON DWE |
| 16 | + _____ | + WALTER ON REN |

In a little communication of mine, which appears in the October number of the Numismatic Chronicle, and in which I have attempted to appropriate the coins reading "*Walter*," and "*Walter on re*," and "*ren*," to the mint of "Reginald's Tower" in the city of Waterford, through some little inadvertence I forgot to remark, that on the obverse, they read simply "*Johannes*," the abbreviation for "*Dominus*" being altogether omitted, and (with the exception of a large pellet) the space, a perfect blank, in which that abbreviation appears on the other full-face half-pence of John. Could it be possible that these coins were struck before the year 1177, when the title of "Lord of Ireland" was conferred by Henry II. on his son John? If so, they are the earliest known coins really struck in Ireland, and for Ireland, by any of the English princes.

Believe me to remain,

Dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

EDWARD HOARE.

Cork, October 5th, 1847.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.

MISCELLANEA.

FARLEY HEATH.—[The nature of the subjects to which the Numismatic Chronicle is devoted, affords few opportunities of varying its pages with poetical effusions. The following stanzas, however, on an Antiquarian subject, by a gentleman well known both as a Poet and an Archæologist, may not be unacceptable to the readers of the Chronicle. It may be added, that the excavations at Farley Heath, to which they refer, were briefly noticed in our last number.]

FARLEY HEATH.

Many a day havo I whiled away
Upon hopeful Farley-heath,
In its antique soil digging for spoil
Of possible treasure beneath ;
For, Celts, and querns, and funereal urns,
And rich red Samian ware,
And sculptured stcnes, and centurion's hones,
May all lie buried there!

Content, I ween, and glad have I been
From morn till eve to stay,
My Surrey serf turning the turf
The happy live-long day,
With eye still bright, and hope yet alight,
Wistfully watching the mould
As my spade brings up fragiments of things
Fifteen centuries old !

Pleasant and rare it was to be there
On a joyous day of June,
With the circling scene all gay and green,
Steep'd in the silent noon ;
When beauty distils from the calm glad hills,—
From the downs and dimpling vales ;
And every grove, reeling with love,
Whispereth tenderest tales.

O then to look back upon Time's old track,
And dream of the days long past,
When Rome leant here on his sentinel spear
And loud was the clarion's blast—
As wild and shrill from Martyr's Hill
Echoed the patriot-shout,
Or rushed pell-mell, with a midnight yell,
The rude barbarian rout !

Yes; every stone has a tale of its own—
 A volume of old lore;
 And this white sand from many a brand
 Has polish'd gouts of gore,
 When Holmbury-height had its beacon-light,
 And Cantii held old Leith,
 And Rome stood then with his iron men
 On ancient Farley-heath!

Many a group of that exiled troop
 Have here sung songs of home,
 Chaunting aloud to a wondering crowd
 The glories of old Rome;
 Or, lying at length, have bask'd their strength
 Amid this heather and gorse,
 Or down by the well in the larch-grown dell
 Watered the black war-horse!

Look, look! my day-dream right ready would seem
 The past with the present to join—
 For see! I have found, in this rare ground,
 An eloquent green old coin,
 With turquoise rust on its Emperor's bust—
 Some Cæsar, august Lord,
 And the legend terse, and the classic reverse
 Victory, valour's reward!—

Victory,—yes! and happiness,
 Kind comrade, to me and to you,
 When such rich spoil has crowned our toil
 And proved the day-dream true;
 With hearty acclaim how we hail'd by his name
 The Cæsar of that coin,
 And told, with a shout, his titles out,
 And drank his health in wine!

And then how blest the noon-day rest,
 Reclined on a grassy bank,
 With hungry cheer and the brave old beer
 Better than Odin drank;
 And the secret balm of the spirit at calm,
 And poetry, hope, and health,—
 O, have I not found, in that rare ground,
 A mine of more than wealth!

Albury, Oct. 9.

VOL. X.

C C

M. F. T.

NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Numismatique des Croisades. Par F. De Sauley. Paris, 4to.
1847.

We have again to congratulate the learned world on the appearance of another work from the indefatigable pen of M. de Sauley, an author who has done more than any man living, and we believe we may say with equal truth, than almost any writer of past ages, towards the illustration of obscure parts of numismatic history.

No subject seems to him too abstruse, no path of study too intricate, no characters, whether they be Panie, Celtiberian, or Hieroglyphie, too removed from ordinary observation, for his keen glance to detect, and his ready wit and sound learning to illustrate and explain; an author to whom is justly due, the praise which Johnson gave to Goldsmith, " Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit."

Nor is the portion of history to which he has devoted himself in these pages, less interesting and valuable than those on which he has been engaged in former years. Connected on the West with the remains of Byzantine art, and the young and yet hardly formed monetary systems of France, England and Spain, and circulating in the East with the new, and to Europe almost unknown, money of the Arabian Khalifs, the coins whose history he has developed, throw much light on the dates and history of a period of which we know but little and uncertainly, and afford many valuable and connecting links between the distant regions of the far West, and the wild tribes who had conquered and overrun the now exhausted Roman and Greek Empires of the East.

The study of the Coins of the Crusaders, falls into two great leading divisions:—

The First, comprehending those struck in *Asia Minor* from the time of the conquest of *Jerusalem*, A.D. 1099, to the close of the twelfth century, including the coins of the Princes of Antioch and Galilæa, the Counts of Edessa and Tripoli, the Kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus, and the Lords of Marrach and Beiruth.

The Second, those struck in European provinces, from the taking of Constantinople by the Latins in A.D. 1204, to the end of the fourteenth century, and including the coins presumed to

have been struck by the Latin Emperors, and the known money of the Princes of Achaia, the Dukes of Athens, the Despots of Romania and Thessalia and the Lords of Cephalonia and Ithaca.

Of a large number of these Princes, M. de Saulcy has been fortunate to discover and to describe, a nearly complete series of coins. We propose enumerating succinctly the results of M. de Saulcy's labours, which will prove more clearly than the most elaborate criticism, of what value to the practical Numismatist, is the volume which he has just put forth.

Of the *Princes of Antioch* (A.D. 1098—1287), he has been successful in discovering the coins of only *three Princes and two Regents*; nor is this to be wondered at, when it is remembered how rude is their execution, that there were seven who bore the same name, Bohemond, between whom it is very difficult to distinguish accurately; and that the two last Princes belong as much to the neighbouring state of Tripoli,

Of the *Counts of Edessa* (A.D. 1098—1144), he has determined by analogy the two first out of four princes who ruled there; which had previously, and it would seem correctly, been described and attributed by *Cousinéry*. The evidence has been well sifted, and will, we believe, be corroborated by future discoveries.

Of the *Counts of Tripoli* (A.D. 1109—1187), he describes the coins of five Princes and one Regent, out of ten rulers; in the earlier specimens depending upon numismatic analogies, in the later, on the more sure testimony of historical documents.

In the number of the *Kings and Titular Kings of Jerusalem*, he has not been so fortunate. Of these there were fourteen, between A.D. 1099—1237, but he has only been able to procure specimens of *two Kings and three titular ones*. We think there can be no doubt that of these his classification is correct.

Of the *Latin Kings and Regents of Cyprus* (A.D. 1192—1489), he describes no less than twelve out of eighteen, divided into the two great classes, of the direct descendants of *Guy de Lusignan* and the branch of the *Lusignans of Antioch*.

Of the *Lords of Beiruth* in the 12th century, only one coin has escaped the ravages of time, that of the celebrated John de Beiruth, in the beginning of the thirteenth century; first made known by Köhne in his "Zeitschrift" for 1846. No. 1.

The second portion of *M. de Saulcy's* work is devoted to the numismatical history of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. No coins have as yet been found of the eight first Emperors between A.D. 1204 and A.D. 1274, and there seems good reason for doubting whether they ever struck any money on their own account. Yet certain anonymous coins there are, of rude and inelegant workmanship, in copper, which are only found in the town of Constantinople, which *Cousinéry* and *Cadavalvèn* attribute to these princes;

a judgment in which M. de Saulcy, who had previously described them in his "Essai sur la Classification des Monnaies Byzantines" appears to concur.

The third part of his work is occupied with a curious and important branch of the enquiry; viz., the History of the small Dukedoms and Prinedoms, etc., which were established during the Latin rule at Constantinople, Achaia, Athens, Campobasso, Corfu, Ithaca and Cephalonia.

Of the *Princes of Achaia* (A.D. 1205—1387), he has published the coins of no less than fourteen; chiefly from the towns of Corinth, Clarentza, and Lepanto; all of considerable interest, whether for their individual scarcity, or the obscurity in which their history is enveloped.

Of the *Dukes of Athens* (A.D. 1205—1310), he gives four out of six, struck mainly at Athens and Thebes, and of great variety.

Of the *Counts of Campobasso*, he has but one specimen, and there seems some reason to doubt to whom it should be assigned.

Of the *Lords of Corfu*, two coins only are known; and it is impossible to attribute them with certainty, as their legends are unfortunately very imperfect. There is the same doubt and difficulty about the only coin published of the Lords of Ithaca and Cephalonia, which though giving the name of the place with sufficient distinctness, is wholly undecypherable on its obverse.

Such is a succinct account of M. de Saulcy's new work, which is enriched by nineteen plates, beautifully executed, of the coins whereof it treats. We think we do not say too much, when we assert that it is the most important numismatic work which has appeared for many years.

Mémoires de la Société d'Archéologie et de Numismatique de St. Petersbourg, publiées par B. de Köhne. Fasciculus II., avec 4 pl. St. Petersbourg. 1847.

DR. KÖHNE, as some of our readers are aware, has quitted Berlin, and is now located in St. Petersburg, as curator of the Imperial Cabinet of Coins and Medals. He has here manifested the same ardent attachment to numismatic and antiquarian studies as distinguished him in Prussia. The livraison before us contains several papers of interest. 1. Lettre à Monsieur le Prince Théophile Gagarine sur un trouvaille de monnaies Grecques fait en Italie. By the Editor. 2. Monuments inédits de Marcellus, neveu d'Auguste; par le même. 3. Attribution d'une monnaie d'or Byzantine à Michael IV. le Paphlagonien, par M. le Prince Gagarine. 4. Beiträge zur Russischen Münzkunde; par M. de Reichel. 5. Unéditée Deutsche Münzen, aus dem Oranienbaumer Funde;

par M. de Köhne. 6. Münzen der Fürstlichen Abtei Fulda aus dem eilften Jahrhundert; par M. le Dr. Herquet. 7. Die Münzsammlung der Stadt Danzig; par M. Vossberg. 8. Sur l'importance des études d'archéologie et de numismatique orientales pour la Russie; par M. Savélieff, etc. 9. Achik, antiquités de Kertseh; Catacombe de Panticapée; compte-rendu de M. Köhne, etc. etc. These notices cannot fail to find readers among our numismatists; but we may remark, *en passant*, that we have serious doubts as to the correctness of appropriation of the coin or medal presumed of Marcellus. It would be presumptuous to attempt another attribution without actual inspection of this piece, but the learned editor will pardon our referring him to the well-known coin or dedication medal of Antinous, with the legend, OCTΙΑΙΟC MAPKEΛΛΑOC O IΕPΕYC TOY ANTINOY TOIC AXAIOIC ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ. Cf. Eckhel, D. N. V., vol. iv., and Mionnet, Descript. tom. ii. p. 160, nos. 97 & 98. The remains of the legend, as shown in the engraving in the work before us, favour the conjecture that this piece was struck by a priest of the infamous favourite of Hadrian.

CORRESPONDENCE.

W. H. S.—1. The Scotch two-penny piece or Bothwell of Charles II. 2. A wide spread penny of Edward I. or II., apparently struck at York. 3. One of the numberless tetradrachms of Alexander the Great. 4. Tetradrachm of Thessalia. The legend is ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟ... ΕΥΚΟΛΟΣ. 5. A denarius of the Gens Plautia. The type is illustrated by Morell and Vaillant, and also by Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. v. pp. 276—278.

Q.—Mr. J. R. Smith of 4, Old Compton-street, Soho-square, can obtain you any of the Numismatic books you may require. The Catalogue you mention is a collection of blunders; and the prices are unreasonable in many instances, while many of the books are obsolete, and rather stumbling-blocks than helps to the tyro.

B. S.—Most of the Anglo-Saxon Stycas are extremely common.

I. I. G.—We are not surprised at your intelligence. It is a well-known fact that Antiquarianism is at a lower ebb in Scotland than in any part of Europe. Strange that in a country which has produced so many thinking men, as well as poets from among the humblest of the peasantry, there should be so little desire to illustrate her antiquities.

T. M.—The work so long announced on *The Coins of Ancient Africa* by MM. Falbe and Lindberg has not yet appeared. Judging from the manner in which the specimen sheet has been executed, it may reasonably be expected to be of great value to those who are engaged in the study of those curious and difficult coins.

W. F. F.—Will find a very elaborate list of the weights of well preserved denarii in the first volume of "A Descriptive Catalogue of Rare and Unedited Coins." 2 vols. 8vo. 1834.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

VOL. IX.

- Page 93, line 12, for *كَوْدِينْ* read *كَوْدِينْ*
 „ 103, coin 14, for “Silver” read “Silver and copper.”
 „ 109, line 18, for “Balbūm” read “Balban.”
 „ 110, coin ^a, for “Copper” read “Silver.”
 „ 111, line 20, for “688” read “658.”
 „ 113, line 7, after “and” insert “one of his commanders.”
 „ — coin 42, for “Date 678” read “673;” and alter Arabic
 accordingly.
 „ 117, note ^b, and vol. x., page 58, line 8, *et seq.*, for “Akhberī”
 read “Akberī.”

VOL. X.

- „ 54, coin 94, obverse, add الْكَرِيم
 „ — — reverse, for شَهْدَه read سَهْدَه
 „ 62, coin 111, for "109," read "110."
 „ 129, coin 118, for "114" read "115."
 „ 136, coin 136, for "795" read "790."
 „ 171, line 6, for "Clumar" read "Chunar."
 Abstract Table of Dates, note³, for "page 67" read "page 130."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1846—7.

NOVEMBER 26, 1846.

PROFESSOR WILSON, President, in the Chair.

The following Presents, received during the recess, were announced and laid upon the table:—

| Presented by | |
|--|--|
| Monnaies Anglo-Saxonnes du Cabinet Royal de Stockholm, toutes trouvées en Suède. Classées et décrites par B. E. Hildebrand, Directeur du Cabinet royal des Médailles et des Antiquités en Suède. 4to, Stockholm, 1846. | THE AUTHOR. |
| Beschreibung des K. K. Münz- und Antiken- Kabinettes, von Joseph Arneth (Description of the Imperial Cabinet of Coins and Anti- quities, by Joseph Arneth) Vienna, 1845. | " |
| De Nummis Gothlandicis Dissertatio. By C. J. Bergmann. Small 4to, Upsal 1837. | DR. SCHROEDER. |
| Numi Ducum Reipublicæ Venetæ in Nomo- phylacio Academico Upsaliensi. By Herr- mann G. von Gegerfelt. Small 4to, Upsal 1839. | " |
| Glossarii Latino-Suethici Specimen Vetustum. E Codici M. Scr. Bibliothecæ Reg. Acad. Upsal. By Olaf M. Theod. Rabenius. Small 4to, Upsal 1845. | " |
| Lettres sur l'Histoire Monétaire de la Norma- nie et du Perche, par M. Lecointre-Dupont. Paris, 1846. | THE AUTHOR. |
| Compendio Elemental de Arqueología. 3 vols. Madrid, 1844. | ACADEMY OF ARCHÆOLOGY OF MADRID. |
| Annuaire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux Arts de Belgique. Brussels, 1846. | THE ACADEMY. |

Presented by
THE SOCIETY.

| | | |
|---|----|--------------------|
| Bulletin de la Société Royale des Anti- quaires du Nord. <i>Copenhagen</i> , 1843. | } | |
| Mémoires de la Société Royale des Anti- quaires du Nord. <i>Copenhagen</i> , 1844. | } | " |
| Histoire numismatique de la Révolution Belge, par M. Guioth. Livraisons 11—15. | } | THE AUTHOR. |
| Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. x. part I. 1847. | } | THE SOCIETY. |
| Journal of the British Archaeological Associa- tion. Nos. 5, 6, and 7. | } | THE ASSOCIATION. |
| One hundred and one silver coins of various kings of Norway and Denmark, and of Norway and Sweden, viz.:— | } | PROFESSOR HOLMBOE. |
| John II., king of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark 1483—1513. | 4 | |
| Frederick II., king of Norway and Denmark 1559—1588. | 1 | |
| Christian IV. do. 1588—1648. | 19 | |
| Frederick III. do. 1648—1670. | 22 | |
| Christian V. do. 1670—1699. | 24 | |
| Frederick IV. do. 1699—1730. | 19 | |
| Frederick V. do. 1746—1766. | 6 | |
| Frederick VI. do. 1808—1840. | 1 | |
| Charles XIV. John, king of Norway and Sweden 1818—1844. | 2 | |
| Oscar. do. do. 1844 | 3 | |

101

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| One coin in silver of an archiepiscopal mint ; and a coronation medal, in bronze, of Charles XIV. John, king of Sweden and Norway, 1818. | } | " |
|---|---|---|

The following Gentlemen were balloted for and elected into the Society.

The Rev. Edward Trafford Leigh, Rectory, Cheadle.

The Rev. Thomas Smart Hughes, B.D., F.S.A. Rector of Edgware.

Thomas Moule, Esq., St. James's Palace.

Read:—

1. A communication from Sir Gardner Wilkinson, relative to an inscription on a broken column, near Gebayl, on the coast of Syria,

containing the names of Zenobia and her son Vabalathus. This inscription is interesting to numismatists, because, by shewing that Vabalathus was not, as usually supposed, the son of Zenobia and Odenathus, but of Zenobia and her first husband Athenodorus, it clears up the question long agitated, respecting the meaning of the word ΑΘΙΝΥ or ΑΘΗΝΟΥ in the legends on the coins of Vabalathus.

2. A paper by James D. Cuff, Esq., containing the result of an examination of 2,258 Stycas, being part of a hoard discovered in the month of April, 1842, by some workmen digging a drain in connection with the Public Rooms, then building in St. Leonard's Place, at York, not far from Bootham Bar.* These coins comprised specimens of the following kings and prelates :

| | | |
|------------------------|-----|---------------------|
| Eanred | 531 | |
| Ethelred | 919 | |
| Redulf | 63 | |
| Osberht | 61 | |
| | — | 1574 Regal. |
| Eanbald | 1 | |
| Vigmund | 237 | |
| Vulfhere | 23 | |
| | — | 261 Ecclesiastical. |
| Uncertain or illegible | | 1835 |
| | | 423 |
| | — | 2258 |

Among the coins of Ethelred, was one of the type engraved in Hawkins, Plate 9, No. 122, having on the reverse an animal resembling a dog, but with the addition, in front of the animal, of the trefoil ornament which occurs on the coins of Regnald and Anlaf.



* The Society is indebted to the Council of the British Archaeological Association for placing these coins, the property of Mr. Hargrove of York, in the hands of Mr. Cuff, for the use of the Society.

There were also, among the uncertain, about 20 specimens of the type engraved in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. VI., and illustrated in a paper by Mr. Lindsay, at page 38 of that volume.

3. A letter from Major Moore to Edward Hawkins, Esq., in which, with reference to the disputed question of the appropriation of the short-cross pennies, formerly considered as the earliest coinage of Henry III. but attributed by Mr. Hawkins and others to Henry II, he states his reasons for concurring in the latter appropriation.

Major Moore does not consider the occurrence of the names of the same moneyers on the short and long-cross coins, to be an argument of great weight on either side of the question. The son in those days probably succeeded his father in the office of moneyer; and so the same name might continue for generations; or the same person might even have served under both kings, the interval between the end of the reign of Henry II, and the accession of Henry III, being but 27 years. He finds his opinion, that the short-cross coins belong to Henry II., chiefly on the following facts:—1. The aged appearance of the bust on those coins, while the bust on the coins with the long cross, which are on all hands admitted to be of later date, is of comparatively youthful appearance. 2. The similarity of reverse to that of the coins of William the Lion, of Scotland, who was contemporary with Henry II., John, and Richard I; and also to that of the early Irish coins of John, reading *Dom*, which were struck in the life of his father; the probability being, that the Scottish and Irish moneyers, in this as in other instances, copied an already existing English type, rather than that English moneyers copied a Scottish or Irish type. 3. The frequent discoveries of the short-cross pennies in Ireland, which leads to the inference, that they were brought over by the early invaders of that country. 4. The non-discovery, hitherto, of Irish money of Henry III, with the short cross. If the coinage of all the earlier part of his reign had been of that type, it would have been reasonable to expect that short-cross coins with the triangle obverse would have been common; but none have yet appeared. 5. The similarity of the crown on the coins of John, reading *Rex*, to that on the long-cross coins of Henry III., which tends to prove, that the

short-cross coins, on which the crown is of a very different and ruder form, must have been of a preceding and not an intervening type. 6. The fewness of the instances in which the same moneymen's names occur on both short and long-cross coins; whereas, if both types had been of the same king, the correspondence of names of moneymen would in all probability have been of common occurrence. 7. The orthography of the names, both of moneymen and place of mintage, which is frequently semi-barbarous on the short-cross coins, but is in many instances corrected and modernised, on those with the long-cross.

DECEMBER 17th, 1845.

PROFESSOR WILSON, President, in the Chair.

Thomas Moule, Esq. (elected November 26th), was admitted a Member of the Society.

Read:—A paper by Mr. Seth W. Stevenson, of Norwich, on a jewelled gold coin of the Emperor Mauricius Tiberius (A.D. 582 to A.D. 602), found at Baeton, on the coast of Norfolk, and presented by Miss Gurney to the British Museum. This beautiful ornament, (an engraving of which, by Mr. Fairholt, was presented by Mr. Stevenson to illustrate his paper) consists of one of the common gold coins of Mauricius, surrounded by a circular border of the same metal, an inch and a half in diameter, and composed of thirty-eight cells of irregular form and size. Twenty of these are filled with red coloured stones or pastes; the remaining cavities are empty. The loop by which it was meant to be suspended, exhibits on the front side a braided or chain pattern of not inelegant workmanship, which also extends over the reverse side. Mr. Stevenson, after describing analogous ornaments worn at all periods of the Roman empire, remarked, that he had understood the numismatic authorities of the British Museum considered the coin itself as a *cast*. With this opinion Mr. Stevenson differed, believing the coin to be struck. The setting of the coin he considered to be

Byzantine work, and executed in the East; and not by the people of the north of Europe.

Dr. Lee regretted that the meeting had not been favoured with an exhibition of the coin itself, an examination of which was absolutely essential, in order to do justice to Mr. Stevenson's paper. He then proceeded to make observations on the somewhat confused inscription on the obverse of the coin, D.N.MAV.CR.P.P.AVG., and to explain that on the reverse, VICTORIA·AVGG, etc.; concluding by observing that he agreed with Mr. Stevenson in thinking the ornamental setting to be of Oriental manufacture.

Mr. C. R. Smith said he agreed with his friend Mr. Stevenson in thinking the coin to be a struck coin, and not a cast. The inscription on the obverse he suspected was blundered by the moneyer; but he considered the setting to be by far the most interesting part of the jewel. It differed from all the examples of mounted gold Roman coins he had seen, as well as from others which had been engraved, in the resemblance of its workmanship to that of the circular gold Saxon fibulae, which are frequently found in this country, and especially in Kent, as may be seen in the museums of Dr. Fausset, Mr. Rolfe, and others. The construction of the cells of the *entourage* of the coin, filled with red stones or pastes, so precisely corresponded with the setting of the fibulae, that he should not hesitate in assigning the framework of the coin to Anglo-Saxon goldsmiths. He admitted with Dr. Lee that portions of the work may be analogous to Eastern patterns; and no doubt the arts of the East gave a certain tone to those of the north of Europe, but not so much so as to deprive the latter of a nationality and character of design which enable us to recognise the works of the North as peculiar and distinct from those of the East. The date of the coin, (the sixth century,) was also another and an interesting confirmation of his opinion that the jewellery was Anglo-Saxon, because it was of the precise period to which the fibulae, from many circumstances, had been assigned.

Dr. Lee replied, that he still considered the ornamental border, and particularly the twisted or chain-pattern which surrounded it, and the loop, as peculiarly Eastern.

Mr. Fairholt observed, that while engraving the jewelled coin for Mr. Stevenson, he had every opportunity of closely examining the construction of the border; and he felt no hesitation, from comparison with similar works of art found in this country, in pronouncing it to be Anglo-Saxon.

Mr. Smith exhibited a quantity of the short-cross pennies of Henry III., thirty-seven in number, with three of William of Scotland, recently discovered near Maidstone, and forwarded by Mr. C. T. Smythe. Mr. Smith said it had been of late a matter of discussion among numismatists whether these short-cross pennies should not rather be assigned to Henry II., than to Henry III.; and good arguments had been advanced on either side. This discovery of pennies of William, who was contemporary with Henry II., while of itself it would not decide the question, must be allowed a certain degree of weight in favour of those who believe these short-cross coins to have been incorrectly appropriated to Henry III.; and especially so, as the pennies of William found in this little hoard appeared equal in freshness of preservation with the others, and none seemed to have been much circulated.

A brief description of the coins by Mr. Cuff was then read; and some observations were made by Mr. Bergne on the opinions of numismatists of the present day as to the appropriation of this coinage.

JANUARY 28, 1847.

JOHN B. BERGNE, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

Mr. C. Roach Smith presented to the Society a small collection of plaster casts of British coins, each accompanied by a note of the place of its discovery; and expressed a hope that other members would avail themselves of any opportunity of contributing accurate information of the same kind, so as to furnish materials for arriving at a classification of the coins which at present are all included in the generic term *British*.

Mr. Pfister exhibited a gold coin (Tremisses) struck at the town of Aosta, in Piedmont (the *Augusta Praetoria Salasorum* of Pliny).

This scarce coin was found in the environs of Geneva, a few years ago. Its date may, in all probability, be referred to the sixth century, when Aosta had become part of the kingdom of the Burgundians.

Obv. The royal profile to the right. +AVSTA FIT.

R GVILIANIVS MVNITARIVS.; in a dotted circle an elevated cross, cantonised by the letters C.V. signifying *Crux vincit*.

On a small coin of Totila (541—552) in Mr. Pfister's possession, the cross is cantonised by an anchor and the letter V.

The Burgundians in Gallia became Catholics earlier than the Franks. In the beginning of the fifth century, they became Arians for a time while subdued by the Visigoths; and again Catholics in the sixth century.

They were from the same stock as the Vandals (coins of Gunthamund 484—496), and about 407 broke forth from their settlement between the Oder and the Weser, and overran a great part of Gaul. Helvetia, Savoy, Dauphiny, the Lyonois, and Franche-Comté were erected by them into an independent monarchy, Lyons and Geneva (426) being alternately the seat of government.

The type of the coin exhibited, is therefore contemporary with the Merovingian coinage, from which it is imitated. The Merovingian coinage commenced in the sixth century, and lasted about 250 years. In the sepulchre of Childeric, who died A.D. 481, no Merovingian coins were found.

It was Clovis who brought the coinage to a certain degree of perfection; and when he sent a messenger to the Burgundian king, Gundebald, who resided at Geneva, to ask of him his niece Clotilda in marriage, the messenger presented to the young princess (*holde hilde*, noble and handsome) a golden solidus, which bore perhaps the best likeness that could be furnished of the Chief of the Franks. That Clovis was pretty well supplied with gold, we learn from the account of his having been compelled to redeem his horse for 200 gold pieces. Before the battle with the Visigoths, he made a vow to present his horse to St. Martin in case of success. After gaining the victory, the clergy of Tours assessed its value at 300 golden solidi.

Clovis found this valuation rather too high, and thus expressed his opinion of the dexterity of the saint in driving a bargain, "Vere beatus Martinus bonus est in auxilio, sed carus in negotio." (Gesta Francor. epitom. c. xvii.)

Mr. Pfister exhibited also a rare silver coin (Lira) of Massa Lombarda, formerly a marquisate in Romagna (Massæ Lombardorum, Oppidum in Romandiola).

The coin is of the Marquis Francis d'Este, 1537—1578.

Ov. The eagle of the Este family—FRAN. EST. MAR. MASSE.

R. The upright figure of St. Paul—S. PAVLVS MASSELOMBAR.

Francis was a son of Lucretia Borgia and of Alfonso I. d'Este, duke of Ferrara.

Also a medallion of Donna Maria Cardona, marchioness della Padula, wife of Francis d'Este, marquis of Massa Lombarda. She was married to him at Ferrara in 1539, and died in 1563.

Mr. Pfister was inclined to attribute this fine work of Italian art to Leoni Pompeo.

The Chairman then read a paper, giving a more minute account of the pennies of Henry II. or III., and of William the Lion, of Scotland, lately discovered at Teston in Kent, which were exhibited by Mr. C. Roach Smith at the last meeting. The paper contained a review of the various reasons alleged for the attribution of the short-cross pennies to Henry II. or to Henry III., and expressed the opinion of the writer, that no sufficient cause had yet been shewn for their being assigned to the former king, in Mr. Hawkins' work on the English silver coinage. This paper, and also that by Major Moore on the same subject, are given in full in the Numismatic Chronicle.

The Rev. John Edmund Cox, M. A., of Stepney, was balloted for, and elected into the Society.

FEBRUARY 25, 1847.

PROFESSOR WILSON, President, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced :—

| | |
|---|---|
| A collection of Roman coins, in large, middle, and small brass, about 370 in number, principally purchased from the <i>Juge de Paix</i> , residing at Notre Dame de Suisse, in the department of Aisne in France, in which department they were for the most part procured. | <i>Presented by</i> LORD ALBERT CONYNGHAM. |
| Journal of the British Archaeological Association, No. 8. | THE ASSOCIATION. |
| Monnaies des Eduens. Par M. De la Saussaye, 8vo. Paris, 1846, pp. 15. | THE AUTHOR. |

Read :—

A communication from Mr. Haggard, containing a description of a satirical medal, executed in Holland in the year 1688, and referring to the state of ecclesiastical affairs in England. Translated from a work published at Amsterdam, in 1829, entitled "*Nederlandsche Gedenkpenningen verklaard.*" (Dutch Historical Medals illustrated).

The Medal in question, of which no explanation has ever yet been published, is figured (but not accurately as to details) in Edwards' *Medallic History*, plate xl. No. 3.

Obv.—A pair of scales suspended from the clouds. In the heavier scale a book marked with the letters I C, intended to represent the New Testament, upon which are directed rays from heaven ;—in the other, a mitre, a crosier, a sword, a book intended for the prayer book, and a scroll, or charter, bearing the letters ZEVENV, and having suspended from it seven seals, marked respectively with the letters S H M L W M D. Below, the word TEKEL.

Rev.—An owl wearing spectacles and bands, with an inkhorn and (apparently) a pen-case slung at its side. The owl stands on a cushion with tassels, from underneath which projects the handle of a

sword; before it is a candlestick with a lighted candle surrounded by seven stars. The legend, NOG EVEN BLIND (still blind as ever). In the exergue the letters DSS.

The Dutch writer conceives that the obscure device of the obverse is intended for an assertion of the superiority of the ecclesiastical system of Holland, founded upon the New Testament, over the Episcopal and Liturgical form of Church Government; though he confesses himself unable to interpret the meaning of the letters on the seals attached to the scroll. The owl on the reverse he supposes to represent James II., and the legend and accompanying devices to deride his inability to discern the signs of the times.

Mr. Haggard added a description, translated from Van Loon (Vol. iii. p. 337), of another satirical medal of the same period, No. 7 of Plate xxxix. of Edwards.

Obv.—A pedestal inscribed with the word BRITANNIA, on which are placed a Bible covered with a cap, marked with the word LIBERT, a mitre, a cup with the consecrated wafer in it, and a bird. Above is a hand holding from the clouds a scroll, inscribed C. FAGELII EPISTOLA EFFLAGITATA A I STEWARDO, 1687. (The letter of C. Fagel, extorted by J. Stewart, 1687.) Around, the legend, LIBERTAS CONSCIENTIAE HOC MONILI ORNATA. (The liberty of conscience adorned with this ornament.)

Rev.—A mastiff, wearing round his neck a rosary and cross; in his mouth is some uncertain object marked with the letters MI; his left fore paw is placed on a book marked with the letters LC—his right is raised, and rests on an altar or pedestal, round which is a serpent with his tail in his mouth. Upon the altar lies a book marked on the edge with the letters SRP: two seals hang from the book, one bearing the letter T, the other an indistinct letter, which may be either E or B or PL in monogram. Around is the legend, RES IMMODERATA CUPIDO EST. (Avarice is an insatiable thing.) In the exergue the date, MDOLXXXVIII.

The medal refers to the letter written by the Pensionary Fagel in reply to one addressed to him by James Stewart, an acquaintance of Fagel, who was employed by James II. to sound the Prince of

Orange in this way, as to his opinion with regard to the repeal of the Test Act and the laws against Catholics. The answer of the Pensionary was so unfavourable to the king's views, that when the correspondence was published, its authenticity was denied by Stewart, under the sanction of the English Ministry. Fagel, in a letter to the English Minister at the Hague, remonstrated against this proceeding; and his letter being likewise made publick, the whole affair proved extremely injurious to James II.

Van Loon supposes the mitre on the pedestal, on the obverse of the medal, to be intended to represent the Church of England; the cup, the Romish Church; and the bird, the different sects of non-conformists;—the letters L C on the book under the paw of the mastiff on the reverse, to stand for *Libertas Conscientia*, and the letters on the book upon the altar, to designate it as the Test Act and Penal Laws.

Mr. Haggard has little doubt that both medals were struck on the same occasion,—the abrogation of the Test Act and the Penal Laws. He conceives, that by Fagel's letter being placed above the ecclesiastical emblems on the obverse of the second medal, the superiority of his arguments is implied. The scroll with seven seals, on the obverse of the other medal, he thinks may be intended to represent Stewart's letter outbalanced by the New Testament. Mr. Haggard is as much puzzled as the Dutch writer to give any plausible explanation of the letters on the seven seals. He thought they might be the initials of the names of the seven commissioners, appointed by James II. in 1686 for ecclesiastical affairs; but he is unable to verify the conjecture. If the letters ZEVENV on the scroll may be considered to stand for the Dutch words *Zeven Volmachtigde*, i.e. seven Plenipotentiaries, the conjecture would be strengthened.

Mr. Haggard does not agree in the opinion that the owl on the cushion is designed to represent James himself; but conceives that it may rather be intended for Parker, Bishop of Oxford, whom James endeavoured to force upon the fellows of Magdalene College as their President, and who wrote a book in favour of abrogating the tests imposed on all Members of Parliament. The person represented by the bird is shewn to be a clergyman, by the bands and cushion,

and an author, by the inkhorn and pen suspended at his neck. The seven stars may allude to the seven Bishops, who were committed to the Tower for refusing to publish the king's declaration for liberty of conscience. Southey, in his book of the church (vol. ii. p. 492), states that they were compared to the seven golden candlesticks, and called the seven stars of the Protestant Church.

Mr. Pfister exhibited a very rare silver medal of Pope Clement VII. by Benvenuto Cellini, struck on the occasion of a general peace.

Obv.—The profile of the Pope to the left, bare-headed and bearded, in an embroidered pluvial. CLEMENS PONT. MAX. AN. XI. MDXXXIIII.

Rev.—An allegorical figure of Peace, holding in the left hand a cornucopia, and in the right a lighted torch, with which she sets fire to a pile of arms. At the back is part of a temple, on which is lying the chained figure of Discord. The legend is CLAVDVNTVR BELLI PORTÆ, and behind the temple appears the name of the artist BENVENVT.

The Medal has evidently been worn, having a round channelled silver border for its better preservation. It is interesting, not only from the celebrity of the engraver and the excellence of its work, but from the curious account given by Cellini, in his autobiographical memoirs, of his interviews with the impetuous and passionate Pope Clement VII. during the preparation of this medal (see pp. 157—160, Edition published by Bohn, 1847).

Mr. Pfister exhibited also a rare and highly preserved silver coin of Castellano di Brancaleone, Senator of Rome 1252—1255, and 1257—1258.

In the year 1234 the community of the City of Rome demanded of Pope Gregory IX. that he should never inflict excommunication upon the Roman people; that he should allow them freely to elect the Podestà under the title of Senator, grant them the privilege of the mint, the impost of bakehouses and pastures, and subject the clergy to the jurisdiction and taxes of the city.* The frequent quarrels between the nobles, and the oppression of the inferior citizens, caused that even in Rome a foreigner was raised for a while to the

* Muratori, iii. p. 579.

supreme magistracy, under the title of *Senator Urbis*, with the same executive power as the Podestà in other Italian Cities. This foreigner was Castellano di Brancaleone di Andolo, Count of Casalecchio, a native of Bologna, who filled the office with the highest reputation from 1252 to 1255, and again from 1257 to 1258. It is a subject of regret, that during his senatorship many of the buildings which till then remained as memorials of the ancient grandeur of Rome, and which, in consequence of the dissensions between the great families of Rome, had been seized upon and used for purposes of defence, were demolished.

The coin represents :—

Olv.—A seated figure of Rome, of Byzantine design, full-faced, and crowned, holding in the right hand a globe, and in the left a palm branch. ROMA CAPVT MVNDI.

Rev.—+BRANCALEO. S.P.Q.R. In the field, the lion of Bavaria, in allusion to the connection of the Guelphic party, of which Rome was the centre, with the house of Bavaria.

MARCH 25, 1847.

DR. LEE in the Chair.

The following Present was announced:—
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 17, } *Presented by*
Part 2. } THE SOCIETY.

Edward Thomas, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, was balloted for and elected into the Society.

Dr. Löwe (elected February 27th, 1845), was admitted a member of the Society.

Mr. Diamond exhibited a large and curious silver coin, value two and a half thalers, of Julius, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg, having on the obverse the portrait of the Duke, and on the reverse, the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

Mr. Pfister exhibited an extremely rare and well preserved silver coin (*mezzo grosso*), of the unfortunate Marino Faliero, Doge of Venice, 1354-5.

By order of the Venetian Senate, not only was the place for the

portrait of Marino Faliero, in the Hall of the Great Council, covered with a black veil, inscribed, "*hic est locus Marini Feletro decapitati pro criminibus*," but also the coins bearing his effigy were called in, with a view to obliterate his memory. From this circumstance, as well as from the shortness of his reign, coins of this Doge are very rare.

Obl.—The Doge kneeling, and holding the standard of the Republic, wearing an ermine mantle : on his head the ducal cap or horn ; *col corno in capo*, as old Italian writers express it. MARIN FALEDRO DVX.

Rev.—The lion of St. Mark, holding a flag. S. MARCVS VENETI.

The tragical story of Marino Faliero is of course familiar to English readers, from Lord Byron's poem. He was beheaded on the 17th of April, 1355, on the Giant's Stairs in the Ducal Palace, for having engaged in a conspiracy against the State, which Daru, in his History of Venice, calls a conspiracy without motive, without plan, without means, and prompted merely by blind passion. A young Venetian, in revenge for an affront put upon him by the Doge, cast imputations upon the honour of his wife. On being discovered and brought before the Council, he was sentenced merely to be imprisoned for two months, and afterwards banished from Venice for a year. This light sentence was thought by the Doge to be inadequate to the offence, and inconsistent with the respect due to his dignity ; and it appears to have been the sole primary motive for his engaging in the conspiracy which brought him to the block.

APRIL 22, 1847.

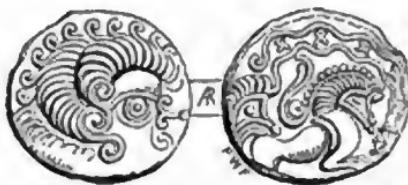
DR. LEE in the Chair.

Mr. Vaux exhibited a very singular coin of the Khalif Mohammed Ali Uah ben Molawakkel, the fifteenth Khalif of the house of Al Abbas, who reigned at Bagdad between the years of the Hejira 256—276 (A.D. 870—890). It was found among the hoard of coins discovered at Cuerdale in Lancashire in May, 1840, and is remarkable for having all its legends reversed, a peculiarity of which very few instances are known to exist.

Mr. Burton exhibited a cast in lead, apparently of the period, of a groat of Richard III., mint mark uncertain, and differing from any genuine specimen extant, by having a cross on the breast of the king, and a small pellet in the centre of the cross on the reverse.

Dr. Löwe exhibited a rare shekel of Simeon, the first Prince of the Maccabee dynasty, bearing on the obverse his name, with a palm tree, and on the reverse a vine leaf.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, by the kindness of M. de Gerville, of Valognes, exhibited some Gaulish coins found in the garden of the Baron de Perche, one of the Associates of the Society, at Avranches in Normandy. Two of the most curious have been engraved by order of the Council of the British Archaeological Association, who have permitted the cuts to be here inserted. They are fine specimens of a type peculiar to the Channel Isles.



Mr. Field exhibited a very large bronze chasing of Louis XIV., of fine work, which is said to have formerly belonged to the French mint.

Read—A portion of a translation by Mr. Haggard of a History of Modern Medals, from the German of Heinrich Bolzenthall, which included observations on the works of Vittore Pisano, Paolo de Ragusio, Matteo Pasti, Antonio Marescotto, Giovanni Boldù, Amadeo Milanese, and Pietro da Milano.

MAY 27, 1847.

JOHN B. BERGEN, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following Present was announced :—

Journal of the British Archaeological Association, No. 9. }
Presented by
THE ASSOCIATION.

F. Westcott Fry, Esq. was balloted for and elected into the Society.

Mr. C. Roach Smith exhibited a cast of a rare and fine coin of Harthaenut, struck at Winchester, of the type No. 216 of Mr. Hawkins's work, which had been lately found in Suffolk :—

Obv.—HARDALNVT REX.

Rev.—GOD. NEPIDI ON PIN..

Mr. Pfister exhibited two varieties of a testoon of Louis XII. of France, as Duke of Milan, 1500—1512.

Obv.—The king's portrait in profile to the right, wearing a hat embroidered with fleurs de lis. LVDOVICVS D. G. FRANCORVM REX.

Rev.—St. Ambrose on horseback in his pontifical robes, wielding a scourge. MEDiolani DVX, with the arms of France.

Both coins are finely preserved and rare, and may be numbered among the best specimens of Italian coinage of the period. The artist is not known ; but there lived at that time at Milan, one Domenico dalli Cammei, celebrated as an engraver of cameos, and skilful in producing a good likeness, who had made a cameo portrait of Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, about the size of a shilling, which, according to Vasari (iii. lib. 1), was considered *una cosa rara*.

Possibly Domenico may have been the artist who produced these fine coins, as well as the testoons of Ludovico Sforza, which, from their exquisite beauty and finish, are commonly considered to be the work of Da Vinci.

Mr. Pfister exhibited also a unique coin of the little town of Acqui, situated on the river Bormida in Piedmont, the Aquæ Statiellorum of Pliny, struck in the time of the Emperor Frederick I., 1152—1190. Many of the small Italian towns and feudal princes, jealous of Milan, then the most beautiful and populous of the cities of Italy, aided that emperor, either with money or men, in his expedition against the latter city. Those towns were then rewarded by him with ample privileges, of which the most conspicuous, and, as it would appear, the most desirable, was the privilege of coining money; and from that period only can the town of Acqui date the establishment of its mint. The coin in question is of good billon, and somewhat concave on the obverse.

Obr.—A cross in the centre + AQVEN. & I. &.

Rev.—IMPERATOR. In the field F. R. with a mark or ornament resembling a yoke.

The coin was found near Trent, in company with coins of Verona, Mantua, Padua, Trent, and other cities, under the root of an oak. Its correct appropriation to the town of Acqui is due to the late Count Giovanelli, Podestà of Trent and South Tyrol, an erudite Archaeologist, and the author of several valuable publications on the early coins of Tyrol, and on Roman antiquities discovered in Tyrol. He bequeathed an extensive and valuable collection of Greek, Roman, and Mediæval coins to the city of Trent.

ANNUAL MEETING.

JUNE 24, 1847.

JOHN B. BERGNE, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The Report of the Council was read, as follows:—

The Council of the Numismatic Society present to the Members, at its Anniversary, the tenth from its formation, the following Annual Report.

Since the last meeting the Society has lost by death three of its members, Mr. Janson of Abchurch lane ; Mr. Lister of Upton, in Essex ; and the Rev. Edward Trafford Leigh. It is a singular and melancholy circumstance that the name of the last-mentioned gentleman appears both in the list of new Members and of Members lost by death, his decease having taken place within a few weeks of his election into the Society. He was much attached to, and well versed in archaeological studies, and, had his life been spared, might have proved a useful and valuable member.

The number of ascertained resignations and secessions during the past year is three ; and the following members have been elected :—

The Rev. Edward Trafford Leigh, A.M., Rector of Cheadle.

The Rev. Thomas Smart Hughes, B.D., Rector of Edgware.

Thomas Moule, Esq.

The Rev. John Edmund Cox, A.M., of All Souls', Oxford.

Edward Thomas, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service.

F. Westcott Fry, Esq.

The numerical state of the Society is as follows :—

| | Original. | Elected. | Honorary. | Associates. | Total. |
|--------------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------|--------|
| Members } June, 1846. | 52 | 71 | 1 | 46 | 170 |
| Since elected | — | 6 | — | — | 6 |
| | 52 | 77 | 1 | 46 | 176 |
| Deceased | 1 | 2 | — | — | 3 |
| Resigned or withdrawn— | 3 | — | — | — | 3 |
| Present number | 51 | 72 | 1 | 46 | 170 |

The Council annex a statement of the finances of the Society, prepared by the Treasurer, and audited by Mr. Saull, one of the Auditors appointed at the last meeting of the Society ; the other Auditor, Mr. Wilkinson, having been prevented from attending by the effects of an accident.

Statement of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June 26, 1846, to June 22, 1847.

Dr

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH JOHN B. BERGNE, TREASURER.

Cr.

| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|----------|---|----------|
| To cash paid Messrs. Wertheimer and Co. for 150 Copies of the Numismatic Chronicle, Nos. 32, 33, 34, 35, and 36. | 75 0 0 | By Balance from last year | 92 12 8 |
| To ditto paid ditto for printing | 3 17 0 | By Annual Contributions | 93 9 0 |
| To ditto paid Mr. Wilkinson for one year's rent of the Society's Rooms, to Midsummer 1847 | 30 0 0 | By one Composition (Edward Thomas, Esq.) | 12 12 0 |
| To ditto paid ditto for firing, and for coffee at the meetings of the Society | 3 16 6 | By Admission Fees. | 5 5 0 |
| To ditto paid for books | 1 1 0 | By payments for the Numismatic Chronicle | 5 5 0 |
| To ditto paid for marking Catalogues of various coin sales for the Society's Library | 2 16 0 | By Dividends on £161 6s. 8d. Consols, due July 5, 1846, and Jan. 5, 1847. | 12 12 0 |
| To ditto paid for binding | 4 0 0 | 3 per Cent. | 4 16 8 |
| To ditto paid for candles 2s. 4d., and hire of lamps £3 15s. 9d. | 3 18 1 | | |
| To ditto paid for Advertisements | 1 8 6 | | |
| To ditto paid Mr. Fairholt, for wood-cuts of two engravings in No. 32 of the Chronicle | 0 14 0 | | |
| To ditto paid for attendance at meetings | 6 5 0 | | |
| To ditto paid for postage, carriage and messengers | 2 12 8 | | |
| To ditto paid for stationery | 0 5 9 | | |
| To ditto paid the Collector for poundage | 4 17 0 | | |
| To ditto paid for the purchase of £14 7s. 3d. Consols, being the amount of Mr. Thomas's Composition for his Annual Contribution | 12 12 0 | | |
| | 153 3 6 | | |
| | 77 3 10 | | |
| | £230 7 4 | | |
| | | | £230 7 4 |
| | | To Balance at Banker's | |

It will be perceived that the Balance in hand is less than it was at the close of the preceding year. This, however, is chiefly in consequence of the Society having had to pay during the year for five numbers of the Numismatic Chronicle instead of four; and they congratulate themselves in being able to announce that the arrear in the issue of that Publication is at length brought up.

The Council have to announce to the meeting the resignation of the Rev. Henry Christmas, whose other engagements prevent him from continuing to perform the duties of joint Honorary Secretary. They have pleasure in stating that they have induced Mr. C. Roach Smith to allow himself to be put in nomination for that office, which he formerly filled for some years with great advantage to the Society.

The following papers have been read at the Meetings of the Society:—

A communication from Sir Gardner Wilkinson, relative to an inscription on a broken column on the coast of Syria, illustrative of the legends on the coins of Vabalathus.

A paper by Mr. Cuff, containing the result of his examination of 2258 Stycas, part of a hoard discovered at York in April 1842.

Papers by Major Moore and Mr. Bergne, on the disputed question of the appropriation to Henry II., or Henry III., of the pennies on which the cross on the reverse extends only to the inner circle.

A paper by Mr. Stevenson, of Norwich, describing a gold coin of the Emperor Mauricius Tiberius, mounted in a border of the same metal, with a loop, to be worn as a jewel, which was found at Bacton, on the coast of Norfolk, and presented to the British Museum by Miss Gurney.

A paper by Mr. Haggard, on two Satirical medals struck in the reign of James II., engraved in Edward's Medallic History, plate xxxix. No. 7, and plate xl. No. 3.

An abstract, by Mr. Haggard, of a History of Modern Medals by Heinrich Bolzenthal, published at Berlin in 1840.

Various papers by Mr. Pfister, descriptive of rare Italian and German coins and medals of the middle ages.

The following Presents have been received by the Society from its Members and friends:—

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| Lord Albert Conyngham, | A collection of about 370 Roman coins, in large, middle, and small brass, chiefly collected in the Department of Aisne in France. A detailed catalogue is in course of preparation. |
| Professor Holmboe, | 101 Silver coins of various kings of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, an Archiepiscopal coin, and a bronze coronation medal of Charles XIV. John. |
| Mr. C. R. Smith, | A collection of casts in plaster, of various British Coins, accompanied by a statement of the places of their discovery. |
| M. Hildebrand, | His work entitled "Monnaies Anglo-Saxonnes du Cabinet Royal de Stockholm, toutes trouvées en Suède." |
| M. Arneth, | His description of the Imperial Cabinet of Coins and Antiquities at Vienna. |
| Dr. Schroeder, | Various publications illustrative of Coins and MSS. preserved in the Public Collection at Upsal. |
| M. Lecointre Dupont, | Letters on the Numismatic History of Normandy. |
| The Academy of Archaeology at Madrid, | Elementary Compendium of Archaeology. |

The Royal Academy of the Sciences and Fine Arts of Belgium,

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of the North,

The Royal Asiatic Society,

The British Archaeological Association,

M. Guioth,

M. L. de la Saussaye,

Mr. Stevenson,

The Publications of the Society.

Ditto ditto.

Ditto ditto.

Ditto ditto.

Continuation of his Numismatic History of the Belgian Revolution.

An Essay on the coins of the Aedui.

A plate, engraved by Mr. Fairholt, of a gold coin of the Emperor Mauricius Tiberius, mounted as a jewel.

The work by M. Hildebrand, the learned keeper of the Royal Collection at Stockholm, a copy of which he has had the kindness to present to the Society, being of peculiar interest to this country, demands a further notice. It commences with an introductory chapter, giving some general account of the different kinds of objects which are from time to time discovered in Sweden; these comprise, 1st, Articles of native workmanship and rude material, used in ancient times by the inhabitants of the country; which are chiefly discovered in tombs. 2nd. Articles of external origin, which appear in almost every instance to have been deposited in the earth for the purpose of concealment. They consist of coins, personal ornaments, and utensils, Roman, Byzantine, and Cufic; of German and Anglo-Saxon Coins; and occasionally even of ingots of silver. In Sweden, the existence of a wise law on the subject of treasure-trove, offers inducements to the finders of such hoards, who are paid one-eighth above the intrinsic value, to place them at once in the hands of the government; and hence has resulted the formation at Stockholm of a magnificent collection of the antiquities which have been brought to light in various parts of Sweden.

The bulk of M. Hildebrand's work, which is a quarto volume of near 500 pages, is, as its title imports, occupied by a most minute and laborious Catalogue of the Collection of Anglo-Saxon Coins so formed. The series extends from Edgar to Edward the Confessor, but is richest in the reigns from *Aethelred II.* to *Harthacnut*. The whole number of specimens described, all of English mints, is between four and five thousand, of which two hundred and thirty-seven are of *Harold I.* and thirty-one of *Harthacnut*. Every minute variety of type and legend is detailed, as in the Catalogues by Mr. Hawkins (published in Vols. III. and V. of the Numismatic Chronicle), of the coins found in Gravesend in 1838, and at Cuerdale in 1840, and the work is a monument of the patience and industry of the learned author, whom the Council propose for election as an Associate of the Society.

The Report was received, and ordered to be printed.

The Meeting, having passed a vote of thanks to the retiring Officers and Council, then proceeded to ballot for the election of Officers and Council for the ensuing year; and the Scrutineer appointed by the meeting having reported the result, the following gentlemen were declared duly elected:—

President.

WILLIAM DEBONAIRE HAGGARD, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.A.S.

Vice-Presidents.

LORD ALBERT DENISON CONYNGHAM, M.P., K.C.H., F.S.A.

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, Esq., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., *Boden Professor of Sanscrit, Oxford.*

Treasurer.

JOHN BRODRIBB BERGNÉ, Esq., F.S.A.

Secretaries.

JAMES COVE JONES, Esq., F.S.A.

CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.

Foreign Secretary.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A.

Librarian.

HUGH WELCH DIAMOND, Esq., F.S.A.

Members of the Council.

SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A.

THOMAS BROWN, Esq.

JOHN BRUMELL, Esq.

THOMAS BURGON, Esq.

THOMAS CROFTON CROKER, Esq., F.S.A.

JAMES DODSLEY CUFF, Esq., F.S.A.

F. W. FAIRHOLT, Esq., F.S.A.

WILLIAM HARDY, Esq.

EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S.

WALTER HAWKINS, Esq., F.S.A.

HENRY LAYCOCKE TOVEY, Esq.

WILLIAM SANDYS WRIGHT VAUX, Esq., F.S.A.





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